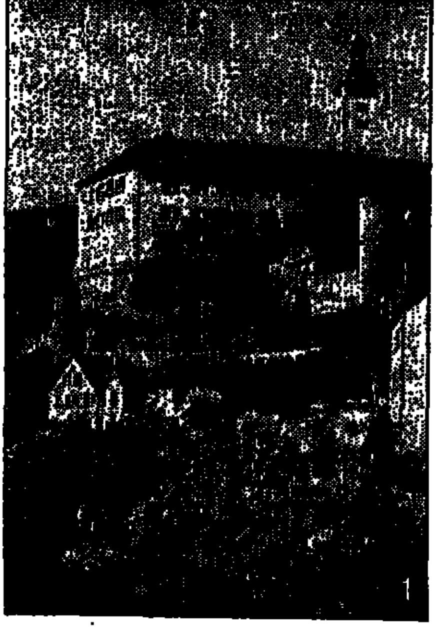
Routes to tour in Germany

The Castle Route



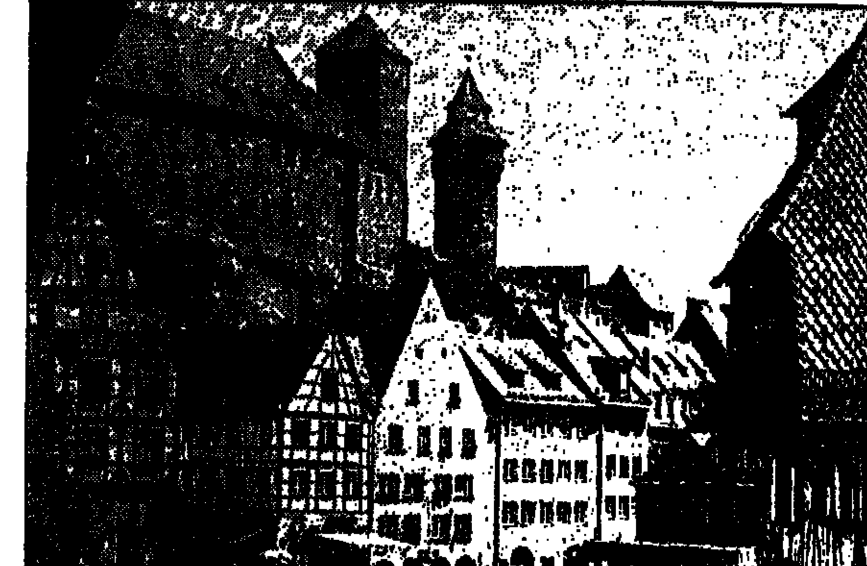
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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 24 January 1982
Twenty-first Year - No. 1021 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

West hammers out a policy on Poland

There has been no uniform Western attitude to the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Not even the most finely-turned communiqué, as issued in Washington and Paris after Chancellor Schmidt's talks there, could paper over the continuing differences of opinion.

There was a clash in the Bundestag on whether the Bonn government could be accused of pussyfooting towards Moscow and Warsaw or the Opposition was unnecessarily advocating a reversion to Cold War practices.

This clash reflected a little of the uncertainty and disagreement that are weighing heavily on the Western alliance.

Viewed superficially, all that is involved are differences in shades of meaning on policy towards the Soviet Union.

Ought the Kremlin and its henchmen, the Polish military rulers, to have sanctions imposed on their countries immediately?

Or should financial coercion be withheld until it is clearly apparent that neo-Stalinists, not reformers, are destined to prevail in Poland?

It is a matter of both political judgement and perspective. Even the American leaders, who are keen to see a hard line taken against Mr Brezhnev, would not for a moment suggest that an immediate economic boycott could prompt a return to democracy in Poland.

Punitive measures of this kind do not impress dictators much, whereas they hit longsuffering nations languishing under totalitarian rule all the harder.

Besides, on the other side of the Atlantic developments in Eastern Europe doubtless take on a different look from how they are seen from the geographic proximity of central Europe.

Any reversion to East-West tension is sure to affect the Federal Republic of Germany directly, so it is realistic for Bonn to counsel caution in moves on Poland and to advise against premature punitive measures aimed at Moscow.

This is neither to call Western solidarity into question nor to adopt a critical stand towards the United States.

Discussions of this kind must be possible among partners without mutual trust and confidence suffering necessarily as a result.

Yet in recent weeks, sad to say, the influence for moderation exerted by Helmut Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher seems to have encountered largely emotional criticism.

In published opinion in the United States in particular, suspicions have been voiced time and again that Chancellor Schmidt had opted for an outsider's role and Germany was vacillating between East and West.

Almost automatically the 1971 Mansfield Plan for a withdrawal of US forces from central Europe was resurrected.

But politics is not as simple as that, and history cannot be turned back decades every time views differ on the situation.

Nato is a pact based on partnership and reciprocity. All members rely on the understanding and help of the others.

The Soviet Union alone would stand to benefit from a serious rift between America and Western Europe. A US withdrawal from Europe would suit Moscow down to the ground.

A breach between Europe and America would also run counter to the immediate interests of both.

Without American assistance Western Europe would be unable to defend itself and to resist pressure of military might from the East, while without Europe the United States would forfeit its role as a world power.

So we remain dependent on each other, and even if Bonn may take a slightly more positive view of the point detente has reached than Washington does, the Federal Republic of Germany is not going to pursue a policy of appeasement that can only prove to be at its own expense.

If a neo-Stalinist civilian were to take over from a uniformed general the reins of power in Warsaw, Bonn too would feel *Ostpolitik* had taken a turn for the worse.

But as long as the outcome is unclear there should be no recriminations either in Nato or in the Bonn Bundestag.

For us all the freedom and human dignity of the people of Poland are what is at stake. This is something we should jointly stress time and again, even though views might differ on the political moves to be made.

We owe the Polish people a joint outcry against the injustice of the use of force and the solidarity of determined helping hands to cope with hardship.

Hermann Dexheimer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 16 January 1982)

Chancellor Schmidt and President Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace.

(Photo: dpa)

Schmidt and Mitterrand thrash out the issues

Helmut Schmidt and Francois Mitterrand held a Franco-German summit at short notice in Paris to iron out differences on Poland.

They did so in a frank, intensive and at times no-holds-barred exchange of views in which misunderstandings and misinterpretations on their respective attitudes were resolved.

They jointly undertook to exert pressure on the military authorities in Warsaw to revert to policies of renewal and reform.

As a result of a mere exchange of views to clarify misunderstandings this was more than might have been expected. It points to joint moves, although neither the German Chancellor nor the French President divulged details.

In over three hours of talks at the Elysée Place M. Mitterrand and Herr Schmidt stressed more than once that what was going on in Poland must not be allowed to drive a wedge into the Atlantic alliance.

The Bonn Chancellor referred in Paris to full agreement on maintaining the unity of the West, and the French President agreed.

M. Mitterrand, who was joined by Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, recalled that the two countries had invariably joined forces on all issues of Western foreign policy.

This they succeeded in doing again in Paris. It was better late than never, and Herr Schmidt was by no means solely to blame for the delay.

The French leader tried to make light of the shortfall in conultations between Bonn and Paris on Poland and its repercussions for East-West relations by saying that French and German Ministers and aides had conferred on several occasions.

These indirect consultations were not at issue. What came as a surprise was that the President and the Chancellor had not conferred directly since the outbreak of the Polish crisis.

Herr Schmidt returned home leaving behind overt and covert anxieties about Bonn's position in Nato.

In view of the size of peace protest marches in Germany, of Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn (at a time when France is not on consultation terms with the Kremlin), of Herr Schmidt's GDR visit and Polish Deputy Premier Rakowski's visit to Bonn, France has its doubts about Germany.

The French wonder how important Bonn feels its Ostpolitik still is at a time when France and America are clearly not on good terms with Moscow and Warsaw.

Paris could well have done with a few words on what Bonn actually had in mind well before the two leaders met, and this is a point M. Mitterrand is sure to reiterate when he hosts the Bonn go-

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Toing and froing on a common line

It took Nato four weeks to arrive at a joint response to Poland, but the West has still not agreed on joint action.

For the time being it is agreed solely in its assessment and condemnation of Soviet responsibility and on issuing warnings aimed at Moscow.

Given the far-reaching differences of opinion that have arisen in the West since the military take-over in Poland, even this little spells progress.

But two reservations must be stated, the first being that the Nato resolution clearly bears a US imprint to which European members of the North Atlantic pact may well have consented with reluctance.

The second proviso is that developments in Poland over the four weeks in question left little hope of the Polish authorities reverting to reform policies worthy of the name.

It would have been little to the point for Nato Foreign Ministers to continue to harbour illusions on General Jaruzelski's patriotism.

They may have called on the Polish leaders to reactivate the process of reform and to resume without delay the dialogue with the Church and with Solidarity, the independent trade union.

But their call had a hollow ring. A Solidarity capable of freely representing the wishes of Polish workers no longer exists. There would be no point in a dialogue with a sham organisation.

The regime can no longer be said to be engaged in a dialogue with the Church either. The Polish authorities are trying to eliminate its influence too.

In return for an interview with General Jaruzelski, Archbishop Glemp has already had to abandon his demand for trade union leader Walesa to take part in the talks.

Yet even this concession failed to make the General ease his policies in any way. The Church looks like having to fight for its own survival; it will have little choice but to leave Solidarity in the lurch.

This, like everything else that has happened in Poland since the military crackdown, clearly indicates Moscow's role.

So Nato Foreign Ministers had no choice but to couch their resolution in terms of an indictment of the Kremlin.

Where they fail to agree is on the ways open to them to lend weight to their contention that the Soviet Union has no right to determine political and social developments in Poland.

Persistent violations of the UN Charter and the Helsinki accords endanger confidence in East-West cooperation and seriously handicap international relations, Nato feels.

In the Brussels resolution by Nato Foreign Ministers, Bonn endorsed views it had previously sought to avoid expressing in such strong terms.

It was reluctant to encourage further deterioration in international relations, fearing the effect it might have on German trade interests in the East, on intra-German ties (still a tender plant) and on the Geneva arms control talks.

The Geneva talks between America and Russia on medium-range missiles are so important that their success or failure could well seal the fate of the current Bonn government.

But Bonn's interests would have been harmed even more by a refusal to support the US draft resolution, which was backed by Britain, France and Italy.

Helmut Schmidt cannot afford to risk a confrontation with both Mr Reagan and M. Mitterrand.

The Americans initially made it easier for him to accept the resolution by deciding not, for the time being, to abandon the Geneva talks.

Bonn is not required to impose economic sanctions on Moscow and Warsaw either, but the resolution does commit both Bonn and the other Nato countries.

It says that future economic and trade ties will depend on Soviet behaviour towards Poland, as will the arms control process.

So in his deal with Washington Herr Schmidt is very much at the thin end of the wedge. If he or the other European Nato countries object to the next round of US demands they could well find a frustrated Mr Reagan carrying out his threat to end the Geneva talks.

This is a turn of events Herr Schmidt must try to avoid at virtually all costs since it would in all probability mean the end of the current coalition government in Bonn.

In the past the Chancellor has only stood up to Washington when he was sure of French support. This time he failed to check where he stood in Paris, presumably because he misread the US and French responses to Bonn's attitude.

Yet M. Mitterrand's missile modernisation policy could have served as a warning.

He will now try to salvage what he can, and it will be a daunting task. France has deep-seated fears of a special relationship between Bonn and Moscow.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 January 1982)

Moscow's reaction

Moscow and Warsaw lost no time in criticising the 15 Nato Foreign Ministers for demonstrating at their Brussels summit greater cohesion than had been expected.

Nato not only reiterated its three demands for martial law to be lifted in Poland, for internees to be released and for the dialogue with the Church and the trade unions to be resumed.

It went one further and criticised the East bloc regimes for their inflexibility and inability to carry out changes. Moscow was accused of exerting pressure on Poland and sanctions were threatened if the Kremlin failed to comply.

The European Nato member-countries went as far as could be reasonably expected towards endorsing the US attitude and at least avoided presenting the sorry spectacle of disunity in dealing with a Soviet-backed military dictatorship.

National opportunism would have been sorely out of place, with everyone having realised that the Poles themselves would fail to understand a weak attitude on the West's part.

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 15 January 1982)

Nato declares itself on Poland

The Nato declaration on Poland went beyond, in some of its 16 points, what had been expected on either side of the Atlantic.

Summing up the results of the Brussels special meeting of Nato Foreign Ministers, it showed for one that the summit was well prepared.

But in two respects the picture of Western unanimity in the definition of democratic expectations and aims was arguably spoilt.

One was the reservations made on some points by the Greek Foreign Minister. The other was that the Turkish Foreign Minister, as one of the parties to the Nato resolution, himself represents a military regime.

The emphasis was on the obligations of the Soviet leadership and the Jaruzelski regime toward security and cooperation in Europe in terms of the Helsinki accords.

Mr Brezhnev was one of the leaders who at Helsinki pledged their countries to abide by the principles of sovereignty, non-intervention and self-determination and condemned even as much as the threat of force.

With reference to this, the declaration included a sentence that was the first yet in a Nato document to run counter to what had to all intents been tacit Western consent on the understanding that domestic stability in East and West was in the interest of balance of power.

The sentence reads, as approved by all 15 Nato Foreign Ministers: "The Soviet Union has no right to determine Poland's political and social development."

This sounds like a challenge, which was clearly intended, but it was certainly intended also as a warning and a reminder, given that the whip is accompanied by an unmistakable carrot.

Poland, it said, could expect to benefit in full from the advantages of stability in Europe and from constructive political and economic ties with the West as soon as martial law is ended, internees are released and the dialogue with Church and Solidarity is resumed.

The Soviet Union was given to understand that reversion to the process of genuine reform and bona fide dialogue in Poland would contribute towards an atmosphere of mutual trust and reciprocal self-restraint.

Both were essential if there was to be progress on arms control and in arms limitation talks, including the Geneva superpower talks on medium-range missiles.

These warnings to the East bloc to abide by the spirit of Helsinki were to be taken all the more seriously for having been voiced unmistakably in a variety of ways by US Secretary of State Haig both to Nato in Brussels and at a Press conference the next day.

They form part of a twofold strategy with which the final six points of the Nato declaration deals, outlining possible political and economic measures against Poland, the Soviet Union and, in the longer term, in East-West economic ties in general.

Nato was unable to list a catalogue of measures that would be binding on all 15 member-countries.

In the EEC a consensus on joint action in connection with sanctions against Iran and Afghanistan had already been seen to lead to dissension as soon as action was called for.

In Nato, which is even larger, agreement was sure to prove even more difficult to achieve, let alone a uniform course of action uniformly undertaken.

On economic measures the assumption is that each Nato country will act in keeping with its own position and legal provisions.

This was the formula agreed in connection with moves on imports from the Soviet Union and other sectors up to and including export credits.

Actual agreement was reached (with everyone except Greece) only on not deciding for the time being on further commercial credit facilities for Poland and on stalling the Polish debt talks for the moment.

Everything else, especially reconsideration of long-term economic ties between East and West in the energy sector and of exports of farm produce and technology, will be subject to consultations.

The next steps on such matters will be for Cocom, the Nato committee on goods and technology adjudged too sensitive to sell to the Eastern bloc, to decide.

Carl A. Ehrhardt

(Handelsblatt, 13 January 1982)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. – Distribution Manager: Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733

Advertising rates list No. 13 – Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich Pörtner, Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, NY 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

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vernment delegation for full-scale consultations next month.

Bonn, on the other hand, will have no easy time with a French foreign policy that is beginning to take a fresh look at a number of issues.

M. Mitterrand takes a view of Moscow different to the one held by his predecessor, M. Giscard d'Estaing. His reference to the danger inherent in the Soviet arms build-up is only part of the story.

Paris openly supports revolutionary regimes such as in Nicaragua and backs the Opposition in San Salvador. In a new-look Third World policy it relies on countries such as Mexico, India and Algeria.

After the Socialists came to power in Paris M. Mitterrand and M. Cheysson announced that the Bonn-Paris axis was over, which hardly boosted Franco-German ties.

France is currently reviewing its position. It is up to Bonn to outline its position; it is evidently still not fully understood in the French capital.

Lutz Hermann

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 15 January 1982)

■ THE PARTIES

CSU has no rivals when it comes to stage managing a performance

The CSU is the clear champion among Germany's political parties when it comes to staging meetings in the right atmosphere.

The latest meeting in Kreuth marks the pinnacle of this art.

First, the 50 or so members of the Bundestag present were told of how bleak the situation is in the world. Everybody spoke from the heart and got it all off their chests.

Then the unanimous resolutions were passed, and the whole show culminated in a piece of feudal hospitality which included a great deal of levity.

As if this were not enough, the CSU has always been a master at finding new responses among the broad public for its old political messages. To put it in a nutshell, Bavaria's conservatives have always been masters of recycling.

At "Kreuth I", on 19 November 1976, only the strength of internal opposition prevented the CSU breaking away from the CDU.

Kreuth remains a symbol of victory in the tug-of-war between the parties.

The cement that holds together the Bonn alliance between the two conservative parties has always been the guarantor of factual equality despite the differences in numerical strength in the Bundestag.

The CDU has had to pay the price time and again. For the sake of peace it has always had to give in to the small sibling in the south. The whole thing has always worked so well that the CSU has been able benignly to forgive minor infractions.

A recent example: Just as the CSU members of the Bundestag put forward a tough Poland declaration, Berlin's CDU Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker presented his many-sided and cautious analysis of the situation.

Asked about this CSU Bonn Floor Leader Friedrich Zimmermann did not utter a single word of censure. His response can be summed up as polite and unperturbed.

He said he was convinced that the CDU would see the light and toe the tougher line without the need for any specific arrangement to that effect.

Considering that even such high calibre CDU politicians as Walther Leisler Kiep graced the Kreuth meeting with their presence, all is well in the CSU's little world.

Zimmermann stressed that there are naturally regional differences that will have a bearing on the four state elections this year.

Kiep, who is standing for Hamburg mayor, must naturally use a different tone to suit the Hanseatic mentality of the city. He cannot use the language of Kreuth in Hamburg.

Since Kreuth has always been surrounded by a certain aura of conspiracy, the directors in charge of the staging cleverly made use of this to inject a slight element of suspense.

But this meeting was not held to draft a new conservative strategy. All Kreuth VI was intended to do was to update the Sonthofen conflict and rejection strategy.

From high up in their Bavarian mountain retreat the CSU politicians unleashed an icy blast against the Bonn government which they once more accused of having permitted itself to be drawn into the Soviet vortex.

The CDU was called upon to pursue a tougher and more militant policy. This was in all likelihood directed at the somewhat independent prime ministers of Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony, respectively Gerhard Stoltenberg and Ernst Albrecht.

Friedrich Zimmermann stressed, however, that this did not mean that there were any serious differences of view within the conservative camp.

There was nothing at Kreuth VI to indicate a split CDU/CSU. But there were some signs of a new division of labour in wooing voters. After all, it is hard to imagine that the tough declaration on Poland as put forward in Kreuth could be adopted by the CDU and thus outside Bavaria.

Incidentally, this declaration also slams the door in the face of the FDP.

During the years of an "illusionary policy of détente" (an area in which the FDP and SPD can find some common ground) the public lost its awareness of the "offensive direction of Communist ideology and Soviet imperialism."

The usual attacks on Helmut Schmidt, though harsher this time, were augmented in Kreuth by attacks on FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher whom Zimmermann accused of "limp opportunism".

In the same breath, Zimmermann repeated his prophecy that the Bonn government coalition is about to collapse. But the impression was that he had given up hope that this would happen.

If this collapse occurred it would have to come during this year. If it were later the time until the national elections in 1984 would be too short to "tackle the gigantic task of bringing about an effective change."

It was a gloating Zimmermann who pointed to the stumbling blocks for the coalition (the state elections, budgetary problems and unemployment) but it was also a Zimmermann who knew that a change of government during this legislative period would be unthinkable without the FDP.

And the FDP, Zimmermann said, will not rethink until after the state elections.

The post-Kreuth VI CSU gives the impression of a party that is at present not particularly interested in taking the helm of government. Said Zimmermann: "We are not sitting on the steps of Palais Schaumburg."

As Zimmermann descended to the valley, the picture postcard landscape of Kreuth was hit (meteorologically) by a most unsightly thaw.

Nothing remained unchanged — not even in Kreuth. Thus, for instance, CDU leader Franz Josef Strauss was absent for the first time due to illness. Zimmermann found this departure "spectacular". But he added: "We acted as sensibly as if he had been with us."

Somebody else was also among the missing: the inimitable interpreter of Bavarian politics in general and its ambiguous depths — the well known folk writer Ludwig Thoma.

As a relaxed Zimmermann faced the press, munching sausages and quaffing beer, the portrait of the storyteller was missing.

Roman Arens

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 17 January 1982)

Deciding on a stance

Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher were clearer about Bonn's attitude towards Poland in the *first* Bundestag debate this year than when martial law was introduced there.

This second government policy statement by the chancellor settled many open questions asked by the West.

The Bonn government can take credit for having played a major part in the three most important Western declarations: the EEC and Nato statements of 4 and 11 January and the Washington communiqué following Schmidt's meeting with President Reagan.

But the Bonn attitude was not quite as straightforward as it appears in retrospect.

The Chancellor himself made Bonn appear in a shady light when, prompted by his concern over Poland, he went so far as to equate himself with Honecker.

And the fact that the government spokesman termed the American assessment of the Soviet role in Poland wrong at the turn of the year marked the climax of the strain Bonn caused in the Western camp.

Opposition leader Helmut Kohl was right in pointing to these mistakes in the Bundestag.

This strain in the relations with the Western partners has now been overcome. But the Chancellor's reputation has suffered despite his firm stand in the Bundestag.

Another thing that has been destroyed is the unity in the Bundestag across party lines as demonstrated at the end of last year by the common resolution on Poland.

After a bout of superfluous differences, the West has found common ground again. But in Bonn the coalition and the opposition are once more at loggerheads, which can hardly help to alleviate the Polish tragedy.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 January 1982)

Bundestag unity ends in uproar over Poland

The brief spell of Bundestag unity over detente which the imposition of martial law in Poland had brought about did not last long.

It came to a loud and angry end in the first debate of the year with Chancellor Schmidt trying to answer his critics in the face of flying accusations.

In a policy statement, Chancellor Schmidt called for a policy of moderation, balance and intuition on Poland and accused the conservatives of "incitement".

The Opposition leader, Herr Helmut Kohl, accused the Chancellor of having antagonised allies abroad. Because of this, Herr Schmidt could not expect support from the Opposition.

The climax to the debate came after Herr Schmidt said: "I can only warn against such incitement as that of Bavaria's Prime Minister (Franz Josef Strauss) when he said that the Bonn government was cowardly creeping on its belly in the face of communist pressure.

"Such language can only lead to misinterpretations abroad about our position."

He went on to say that Opposition attitudes had awakened voices, "voices which I wish had never been raised again.

"As a result, I have been getting letters from old Nazis living among us as old-age pensioners in which much evil is said about the Poles, the Russians and the Bonn government — all in one breath."

The chamber erupted and the debate was interrupted for several minutes by Opposition protests.

Helmut Schmidt stressed in his statement on his talks with President Mitterrand and President Reagan that the events in Poland had once more showed the rigid inability of the Communist system to allow peaceful change.

This had heaped untold suffering on the peoples of the Warsaw Pact nations and endangered cooperation with the West.

Schmidt, answering criticism levelled abroad against him personally and against his policy, thanked the French Foreign Minister, Claude Cheysson, for having defended him against accusations of neutralism.

Schmidt said the insults were evil, regardless whether they were against him personally or against his government.

Herr Kohl sharply attacked the Chancellor for his stance on Poland. He said that weakness and opportunism in the past weeks and months had led to a situation in which the Chancellor did not know how to account to the nation and therefore resorted to aggressiveness and insults.

Kohl: "Your speech was marked by both hubris and weakness." (CDU applause).

When Schmidt found himself cornered he had begun flailing around without regard for what he destroyed in the process.

Kohl was emphatic in protesting about what he called Schmidt's depicting journalists as the culprits in triggering the criticism of his policy both at home and abroad.

Kohl to Schmidt: "You make brazen use of slander in trying to get yourself out of a hole."

Kohl accused Schmidt of making it impossible for the opposition to maintain normal human relations in the Bundestag.

Never before had there been a Chancellor, who was so little prepared to contribute towards preserving internal peace.

Nobody in the CDU/CSU had to ask himself where he had stood during the Nazi era.

Kohl praised the public for its show of solidarity towards our Polish neighbours. Germans have donated more than DM30m for Poland — more than the rest of Europe combined.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 15 January 1982)

■ **POLITICS**

Bundestag has statistically too many civil servants, lawyers, journalists

Since we live in a representative democracy, we don't expect people to gather in the market place and decide on matters of state.

Instead people vote for their representative to do that in Parliament.

It would be utopian, however, to expect the Bundestag precisely to be a cross-section of society.

That might not even be a good idea, because a lot of people prefer to place their interests in the hands of somebody they consider suitably trained — and that somebody might well be from a different part of society.

But the other extreme, where there are heavy imbalances, is also not ideal.

Broadly speaking, the Bundestag should be made up of people from all walks of life with all levels of education.

The present Bundestag, the ninth, is a long way from the ideal.

One failing is the preponderance of civil servants. There have always been too many.

About a third of MPs are government officials, and if those who work in the public sector as a whole are included, the figure is more like 40 per cent.

Seventeen per cent of the working population earns its living in the public service, so the difference is not as large as might appear at first glance.

Lawyers and journalists are far more over-represented. *Lawyers account for* only 0.14 of the country's working population.

Yet they hold 10.6 per cent of the seats (*11.2 per cent* say some estimates, depending on the method of assessment). This means that lawyers are 75-fold over-represented in the Bundestag.

The ratio for journalists and writers is, at 50 to 1, only slightly better.

However, many MPs like to be listed as lawyers if they have a legal background. They might not have set foot in a law office for years.

Close to six per cent of MPs were employed by political parties before getting a seat in the Bundestag. Another seven per cent work for such public organisations as the trade unions.

Add to this the influence which bureaucracy exerts on the decisions of government and parliament, and it becomes obvious that the state and its activities are the focal point of half of our MPs. This means that the dominant position of bureaucracy is reaching a dangerous level.

However, the proportion of civil servants is not increasing. It was a mere 16 per cent in the first Bundestag and has been checked.

The self-employed are also surprisingly well represented in parliament, but this is largely due to the many lawyers.

There are 31 MPs who are factory owners, entrepreneurs and businessmen plus 11 independent tradesmen and 23 farmers or foresters.

The self-employed, with 28 per cent of the seats, are over-represented.

Some particularly large social groups, like blue-collar workers with only nine MPs and housewives (seven) are badly under-represented.

But these figures must be taken with a certain caution because some of the MPs who give their occupations as housewives or blue collar workers have a somewhat varied career behind them.

On the other hand, a closer look presents a somewhat brighter picture: the "working class" is gaining in the Bundestag if one includes MPs who began their working lives as blue-collar workers and later switched to other work, for instance, in the trade unions.

Taking these careers into account, 71 of the 519 MPs (14 per cent) can look back on experience as blue-collar workers.

The Bundestag is increasingly becoming a parliament of academics.

The world is growing more complicated and the proportion of people with a university education has risen. This is not surprising. What is worrisome is the speed at which it is happening.

Three out of five MPs are university graduates. Add those who have gone through teacher's training college or attended other specialised institutions of higher learning and the figure rises to about 70 per cent.

If the aim is to have as wide a range of experience as possible, this is troubling.

What is worse however, is the predominance of those who have had some sort of legal training. They include not only the 11 per cent of lawyers but also many civil servants, white collar workers and some of the self-employed.

True, legal experience is never a handicap for a legislator. But in a society that depends on technological development there is an appalling shortage of technicians, engineers and scientists.

Women remain under-represented. Only once in the 32-year history of the Federal Republic of Germany — at the end of the second legislative period in 1957 — were more than 10 per cent of the MPs women.

Their number declined and at the beginning of the 7th Bundestag not even six per cent were women.

There has been a change since then and their number rose in 1976, reaching 44 in 1980: 8.5 per cent.

They are bound to gain more ground because every one of the nine legislative periods so far had more women in parliament at the end than at the beginning.

The reason is simple: men are less inclined to fight for positions on the ticket that might not be favourable enough to ensure them of a seat in parliament. So as time goes on women move from hopeless positions to those that will get them in after all.

Another item is groupings by religions.

One conspicuous aspect is the fact that the number of trade unionists rose steadily between 1949 and 1976 from [illegible] to 63 per cent.

There was a slight decline to 62 per cent in 1980.

Thirty-six per cent of MPs are Catholic and 33 per cent Protestant.

It is not surprising that our political parties reflect social structures: almost all CDU/CSU MPs profess to one of the two major religions. The figure for the FDP is about 50 per cent and for the SPD 43 per cent.

Almost all SPD MPs are trade unionists compared with one-third of the CDU/CSU and one-sixth for the FDP.

Lack of representation in parliament does not mean that those who are not represented find their interests neglected. Since they are voters they are naturally courted.

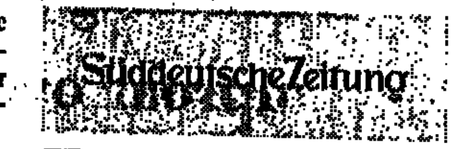
The interests of the socially weaker sections, like blue-collar workers and women, play a role in parliament that is unrelated to the composition of the Bundestag.

Even so, it would be nice if our parliament were a bit more representative.

Thomas Löffelholz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 January 1982)

Bonn's mayor is a man with many extra duties



There are 8,400 mayors in the Federal Republic of Germany, but none of them have the status of Bonn's Hans Daniels.

As mayor of the federal capital, his duties take on a unique dimension.

Every newly accredited ambassador visits the Bonn *Rathaus* after presenting credentials to the president.

Herr Daniels hosts the diplomats at the *Rathaus* and they in turn make reciprocal invitations.

So his round of social calls comprises about 120 embassies and various lessor diplomatic representations.

Each represented nation has at least one national holiday, and Bonn must be represented at the inevitable function by either its mayor or his deputy.

But not only ambassadors call on Herr Daniels. It is etiquette for all state visitors to call.

The visitor signs in the book and then gifts are exchanged under strict rules of protocol.

Bonn City Council has decided that *the president of a foreign state* warrants a complete record album of Beethoven's symphonies. Prime ministers command only an "abbreviated" version of the same album.

These gifts are naturally reciprocated — frequently with unusual items.

An African head of state presented the Mayor with a set of elephant tusks, a Japanese mayor gave the city of Bonn an ornate Japanese doll and an Arab potentate came up with a valuable carpet.

The mayor of West Germany's capital has an expense account of DM3,700 a month to cover these social activities on behalf of the state.



Hans Daniels . . . all that and a law office as well.

Once in a while he receives personal gifts such as a cigarette case engraved with the signature of the donor, cuff links and similar items which become his personal property.

Of course, there are days when Bonn's mayor must descend to the "lowly business" of conducting municipal affairs.

He has regular question and answer time with citizens and naturally presides over City Council meetings.

In addition, Daniels is a member of the North Rhine-Westphalia assembly in Düsseldorf.

Only someone who enjoys financial security can contemplate being mayor of Bonn. Mayor Hans Daniels is in good shape on this score: he has a prosperous law office.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 January 1982)

Economic issues took a back-seat role at Helmut Schmidt's talks with Ronald Reagan in the White House. They seemed to have been included merely to complete the picture, as it were.

Yet it is far from unrevealing to check the comments on economic affairs in the joint declaration issued by the German Chancellor and the US President.

"The Chancellor noted the danger of a worldwide depression," it said, "with the far-reaching political risks it entailed should the industrialised countries fail to agree to a common strategy to combat unemployment."

The President, it would seem, answered in generalisations. At all events, in a lengthy communiqué only Herr Schmidt referred expressly to unemployment.

Not even in a subordinate clause is there as much as a suggestion that the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany plan to draw up a joint strategy to combat this danger.

One might, of course, say they could hardly have been expected to do so, it having been evident since the Ottawa economic summit, if not earlier, that a number of Western industrialised countries seek salvation in pursuing markedly national economic policies.

America, Britain and France are all cases in point. So the objection can be said to hold water.

But no conclusions have been reached in Bonn's respect, and for two reasons. First, a country heavily dependent on exports has to take care to ensure the terms of trade are right.

It cannot simply batten down the hatches and sort out domestic economic growth.

Second, the Bonn coalition of Social and Free Democrats lacks an economic policy approach that carries conviction with them both.

If they are agreed on anything, it is that little can be accomplished by conventional job-creation schemes any more. But what then?

A fearless reappraisal is essential unless the country is to gaze helplessly at the growing numbers of unemployed. Given the outlook of other Western countries, can Bonn avoid going it alone any longer?

It doesn't have to be a reversion to protectionism, dragging the world back into an international economic situation

■ **THE WORK FORCE**

Crucial time in Bonn's fight against jobless

we in the Federal Republic long felt to have been past history.

But it will have to include priority for domestic investment, which can only be achieved via lower interest rates and a limit to higher costs for private enterprise.

People are gradually coming to realise that unemployment cannot be eliminated by inventing short-term job opportunities.

Shorter working hours, a shorter working life and job sharing (along the lines of: "You work mornings and I'll work afternoons") are likewise limited in scope as means of solving the problem.

Creating new jobs with a future is inseparably linked with economic growth, which just cannot be brought about by public works programmes. Initiative and private enterprise are a must.

Initiative can hardly be said to be encouraged by the high interest-rate policy pursued for the past two years, with the pressure only recently eased.

Why should investors bother investing in new machinery and equipment as long as it is more profitable to earn interest on capital loaned?

Naturally, there are reasons why Bonn would do better not to abandon high interest rates too soon.

International capital would promptly head to markets that promised the best returns, it is argued, and that would mean out of Germany.

But might it not stay in Germany, or at least return, if capital investment were to hold forth the prospect of healthy returns again?

And as for limits to higher industrial costs, it is not just a matter of the much-maligned trade unions and how they behave. It depends on both sides of industry, the unions *and* employers.

The unions seem to be demanding in the current round of wage talks increases to offset inflation. The employers will obviously try to keep wage increases below the likely inflation rate.

Both approaches are understandable in the situation but neither bears witness to a farsighted view. The squabble over percentages will not net the staff much and only oblige the management to cost operations even more carefully.

It is sad that profit-sharing schemes are no longer under discussion. Employers' leader Hanns-Martin Schleyer, abducted and murdered in September 1977, was very much in favour of staff shareholders.

At the same time he was staunchly opposed to staff members of the supervisory board, so much so that he took the issue to the Constitutional Court (or would have done if the appeal had been allowed).

Since this court ruling, which Schleyer did not survive to learn of, the employers have maintained a low profile in every respect.

The unions have continued to emphasise the importance of worker directors rather than worker shareholders, but there are no signs of progress towards more industrial democracy either.

But what would happen if wage agreements were to include a clause providing for a part of wage increases to be invested in the company?

The money would not be forfeited (providing suitable safeguards were agreed). Investors would have greater leeway The result could well be more jobs created.

The choice is up to us. We can either administer the jobless or go it alone and develop a new, growth-orientated strategy.

Fritz Aschka

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 January 1982)

Securing the lot of the pensioner

Old-age pensions have been pegged to average earnings before tax for 25 years. Pensions reform, backed by Chancellor Adenauer and Labour Minister Anton Storch, took effect in January 1957.

The 1957 package has often been called the most important reform ever undertaken in the Federal Republic of Germany.

What the Christian Democrats had in mind in pegging pensions to wages was to ensure that retirement did not inexorably condemn pensioners to social decline.

Until 1957 pensions were based mainly on contributions and in no way linked, at least in principle, with wages and prices, inflation or productivity.

Pensions were increased from time to time, but unsystematically, at irregular intervals and not in a uniform manner. They guaranteed little more than subsistence.

dpa

(Rheinische Post, 2 January 1982)

Civil servants and the right to strike a basic issue

Free collective bargaining and the right to strike (and to lock out staff) are part of the democratic system, but in the public service they apply with limitations.

Civil servants are denied the right to strike. Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, the Düsseldorf-based German Trades Union Confederation, says they ought to be entitled to do so.

This view is held in particular by the DGB unions ÖTV, representing public service and transport workers, and GEW, representing the teaching profession.

Civil servants are constitutionally denied the right to strike, so an amendment to Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, would be needed.

But that is no reason in itself for dismissing as illegal the demand for a right to strike for 2.2 million members of the civil service.

Labour law is but vaguely laid down and relies in practice on legal precedent, or how judges rule.

So ÖTV's Heinz Kluncker is not entirely wrong in arguing that if the decision had always lain with the legal profession the right to strike would not exist in private enterprise either.

This is not to say that Herr Kluncker has called on the civil service to go ahead with what would in any case be an illegal political strike in support of the right to strike.

But everyone is entitled to state a case to the lawmakers: the Bonn Bundestag.

The DGB argues that lockouts should be declared illegal. Logically enough, it also endorses a right to strike for the civil service.

But the law as it stands supports neither demand, and their prospects look none too good in Germany today.

A majority of the electorate would sooner see the right to strike restricted not only for civil servants but also for public service workers.

There are sound reasons why. Public services cater for nearly all spheres of activity. The public sector has grown indispensable in meeting the wide range of community needs in modern industrial society.

So strike action in the public service would have much wider repercussions than elsewhere. It could jeopardise law and order and essential services.

We have all grown so dependent on the public service running smoothly that even minor, short-term disruptions could wreak havoc.

In much of the public sector the state enjoys a monopoly, which makes it impossible for the public to look elsewhere for essential services to be maintained.

There is not the market flexibility which otherwise usually ensures that industrial action does not have disastrous consequences.

The public have little choice but to capitulate to the threat of a suspension of essential services, so they are bound to look on the mere threat as blackmail.

So the state, it is argued, must not allow the smooth running of its services to be called into question by its personnel.

In the public service the parties to collective bargaining do not enjoy equal rights. The state cannot very well lock out its staff; it is constitutionally bound to maintain essential services.

The unions point out that when strikes are held in free enterprise they have never objected to emergency services being maintained.

In the event of a public sector strike they would take equal care to ensure that accident victims did not bleed to death, that fires were put out and pensions paid.

But a general ban on strikes by the civil service was a vestige of the patriarchal outlook of a bygone age. Civil servants nowadays owed loyalty not to the powers that be but the constitution.

The DGB has long advocated equal rights for civil servants and public service wage- and salary-earners, the right to strike for civil servants being a consequence of this approach.

Exceptions are envisaged. They would apply to the military and to the prison and health services, for instance.

The unions point out that civil servants are entitled to strike in Britain, France and Italy.

In Germany there are roughly 2.2m civil servants and twice as many, 4.4 million, in the public service all told. They make up one employed person in six.

Ten years ago there were only 3.4m public service workers. The larger their number, the more urgent a reappraisal of the right to strike becomes.

The DGB advocates equal treatment for everyone in the public service, be they civil servants or humble wage-earners. The case for equal treatment could work in a different direction.

Civil servants are constitutionally denied the right to strike. So why not consider which public services are essential to see for whom this right should continue to be denied?

Some government activities should continue to be free from disruption. Civil servants in this category of job should retain civil service status.

Other jobs do not, it could well be argued, call for civil servants. Salaried public service workers, with the right to strike, would suffice.

Put bluntly, the Post Office clerk who sells stamps need not be a civil servant. Civil servant status for 600,000 teachers could well also be reviewed.

But you can't have both. It must be either civil servant status or the right to strike and not both.

Peter Diehl-Thiele

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 January 1982)

■ FINANCE

A bullish outlook gives investors something to look forward to

Tankers and stockbrokers largely agree that this year will be a good one for the stockmarket.

They base their optimism on the assumption that interest rates will continue to go down and that the economy will pick up again in the second half of this year or early next year.

They say that the stockmarket will anticipate this and react bullishly.

It is time stockholders got a break. The past three years (as shown by the Commerzbank Index) were pretty bleak.

In 1979 there was a sharp decline which continued in 1980. And last year's prices averaged out at about the same level at which they started 12 months earlier.

This means that even the fortunate investors who collected some dividends are worse off today than they were a year earlier. Tax and inflation have eroded their stockholdings. As a result, many private savers sold their portfolios last year.

The whole thing started in the early 1960s, immediately after the September 1960 Commerzbank Index reached its post-war peak of 1032. On the last trading day of 1981, the Index was down to 675.

This means that the average price of stock was more than 30 per cent below that of 20 years ago.

Allowing for inflation, the erosion of assets is in fact twice that figure.

Contrary to early expectations, stock portfolios were thus anything but an inflation-proof form of investment.

The nation's savers reacted accordingly: 20 years ago, householders put 3.5 per cent of their annual savings in stock portfolios. The ratio has dwindled to an insignificant 0.4 per cent.

The proportion of stock in private assets dropped from 22 to 4.5 per cent. This is the more significant in view of the fact that more than 800,000 employees of companies that issue stock to their staff have swelled the ranks of private stockholders in the past 20 years.

All that has happened is that the number of stockholders (now five million) has risen.

Instead of sharing in the risk capital of the business community and so creating jobs, Germans are well on their way to becoming a nation of social security pensioners.

It was above all fixed interest securities that benefited from the 15 per cent savings quota in 1981.

In the first nine months of last year, private householders bought more than DM37bn worth of bonds, compared with DM23bn during the same period in 1980.

Yet fixed interest securities were by no means a source of unadulterated joy in the past few years. Rising interest rates made for a bearish bond market.

But even so, private investors dipped into their savings accounts to buy fixed interest securities. Close to 400,000 new portfolios have been established.

The victims of this were not only the banks, which lost some of their "cheap" savings deposits; the Federal government also paid dearly because holders of federal treasury notes sold more than DM10bn worth of these papers, using some of the proceeds to buy more profitable Federal bonds.

These bonds and similar securities with their double-figure interest rates made it impossible for stocks to compete.

Yet there was a time in 1981 when it seemed as if the stockmarket would overcome the consequences of high interest rates. Until the beginning of July, the market remained bullish — so much so that optimists were tempted to call *1981* the stockholder's year.

Apart from institutional investors such as the major insurance companies, it was above all foreign investors who bought German stock in order to spread the risk. Many a petrodollar thus found its way to German stockmarkets.

Not only the sheikhs bought stock. Institutional investors from Britain and the USA and, until the closing of the money borders, France did too.

But these foreigners are not necessarily permanent investors — a fact that was felt on the German stockmarkets in the second half of the year.

Rising stockmarket prices and the improved exchange rate for the deutschemark made many investors collect their gains while the going was good.

The situation was aggravated by concern that the economic recovery in America and the other Western industrial nations would take longer than anticipated.

This led to lower quotations in many trading places. The German stockmarket position is therefore pretty much in line with other markets.

What worries German bankers more than the current market quotations is the structural weakness of the German stockmarket.

Since private savers have turned their backs on the stockmarket, more and more stock finds its way to professional investors.

They are used to thinking in international categories and are not subject to the advice of bankers. The fact is that the "loyal stockholder" is a dying breed.

For the past decade profit has been something of a dirty word. When businessmen avoid taking risks, few savers have been prepared to fill the gap and investi in stock.

The banks bear much of the blame for this development. For years, they went out of their way to tell small securities investors to buy mutual fund certificates because they wanted to avoid the cost of maintaining individual portfolios.

By now, the general disenchantment with stockmarket investment has spread to the funds as well. Since the investment funds have failed to come up to scratch in a generally bearish era, they have had to buy back certificates by the basketful.

The trouble is that the funds themselves are selling off stockholdings.

The fact that the bankers are once more trying to attract private stockholders is not so much due to their concern over the investors' well-being but over that of corporations.

The bankers have for some time been worried about dwindling corporate assets which means that their collateral for loans is also becoming smaller all the time. To make matters worse, lack of liquid funds has made corporations extremely vulnerable in times of crisis.

There is no shortage of advice on how to make stock portfolios more attractive. Commerzbank puts its emphasis on two points:

- Equality in terms of taxation of a company's own and its borrowed capital by removing the present multiple taxation of operating assets.
- More incentives for the working population to participate in risk capital. This could be done within the framework of the government's capital formation policy.

But this would only be successful if one condition were met: the stockmarket can only recover and attract savings if the prospects of gains improve.

The problem is that the times ahead are bleak for both corporations and their stockholders. Tax relief alone cannot stop the flight out of stock portfolios, as the corporate tax reform has demonstrated.

The supporters of stock investments, especially brokers and information services, say that there is no reason to be defeatist.

They are justified to some extent in pointing out that indexes alone are a very inadequate reflection of the true situation.

As they put it: "What matters is not to own stock but to buy and sell it at the right moment. A loyal stockholder is a foolish stockholder."

To substantiate this, they point to the Siemens stock which was stable for years until it plunged 22 per cent in 1981. An opposite example is the Preussag stock which closed 1981 with gains of close to 60 per cent.

These two examples show what took place last year under the cloak of the index.

Those who in 1981 bought the right securities at the right time could make a packet even on our much maligned German stock.

But how does one manage to land on one's feet in the stockmarket? Those who listen to the experts do not always fare well. Not every investment counsellor is really an expert, so the question is: Is this the right approach?

The performance of funds shows that most of them handle the investors' money with care, but they, too, cannot perform miracles.

The difficulty in forecasting developments on the stock exchange lies in the unpredictable.

If all goes as appears probable today there is no reason why securities quotations should not rise druing the year.

The Polish crisis is bound to lose its effect on the market in a few weeks' time.

The Trinkhaus & Burkhardt Bank is optimistic: "If the use of production capacities does not deteriorate still further and if, in fact, it improves in the course of this year, increased productivity and curbed price increases for imported goods coupled with lower financing costs could lead to improved profits. But this would presuppose sensible wage deals."

The Frankfurt-based Bethmann Bank takes a cheerful view. It expects quotations this year to rise 10 to 15 per cent, though with the reservation that "much depend on foreign investors and on the situation in our domestic policy. A change of government could have a major bearing."

The bank does not say whether such a shift would have a positive or a negative effect. It does, however, say that either way nothing spectacular will happen.

In view of the enormous economic and political uncertainties, there is more profit to be had from dealing in angst than in stock.

Never before did Germans buy as much American real estate as in 1981. This is not only a demonstration of faith in Reaganomics but also a reaction to the fact that America is simply further removed from any potential theatre of war.

Wheeler-dealers are becoming *increasingly* adept at banking on anxiety.

Says a recent real estate ad: "By the time you have traded your gold bars for bread and your diamonds for a ship ticket, overseas countries worth going to will have lowered the boom on immigrants from Europe. The lights are bound to dim in Old Germany. But we have made provisions and bought an island in the Caribbean."

Anybody with US$5,000 can still secure a place for himself.

Kurt Wendt

(Die Zeit, 8 January 1982)

Deutschemark ready to bounce back

The deutschemark started this year with good prospects on foreign exchange markets. This follows a good year in 1981.

Anticipated improvement in the balance of payments and hopes that the Bundesbank will get away from the American policy of high interest rates are the most convincing signs of a deutschemark comeback.

According to Bundesbank figures, the exchange rate appreciated 3.2 per cent against the currencies of the 23 most important trading partners in 1981.

This does not nullify the competition advantages of German exporters resulting from the previous depreciation of the German currency because inflation rates abroad are higher.

Using consumer price indexes as a yardstick, the deutschemark is still subject to a 1.75 per cent depreciation in real terms.

The deutschemark was revalued last year against the currencies of the European Monetary System (EMS) by an average of 6.8 per cent: 12.3 per cent against the Italian lira, 9.4 per cent against the French franc, 6.4 per cent against the Belgian franc, 5.8 per cent against the Danish krone, 4.6 per cent against the Irish punt and 1.1 per cent against the Dutch guilder.

And even against the pound sterling, which was boosted by the North Sea oil and higher interest rates, the mark managed to gain 8.5 per cent.

It depreciated against the US dollar by 13.1 per cent. The dollar now averages DM2.2610.

There was a depreciation of 11.4 per cent against the Swiss franc and of [illegible] per cent against the Japanese yen.

Under the impact of the Reagan euphoria and high US interest rates, the 1981 dollar exchange rate rose from DM1.9315 on 6 January to DM2.56[illegible]

Continued on page 7

■ BUSINESS

Leisure electronics blows a fuse

Two manufacturers in the German entertainment electronics industry went out of business last year. Most of the others lost money.

The reason is that consumer spending is down. According to the Rhineland-Westphalian Institute for Economic Research, it dropped last year for the first time since 1950 to DM11bn compared with DM11.5bn two years ago.

However, a bright spot from the German point of view is that it is getting back some of the market is has until now been almost giving to the Japanese without a fight.

Last year, the biggest sellers were video sets and colour TVs with stereo sound.

Video sales, at 800,000 sets, were eight times as large as three years ago.

But other products have been suffering, principally hi-fi sets.

The hi-fi slump is especially worrying because it came so unexpectedly. Sales grew 26 per cent in 1980.

The industry simply has not reckoned with reduced consumer spending power. The German today thinks twice before buying a new TV, record player or video set.

Or at least he thinks more about buying one rather than both or all three.

The major makers have announced price increases of between three and nine per cent to take effect in the spring.

But the question remains whether the market will hold the increase. Prices in real terms have been dropping for 26 years. In the 1960s, manufacturers earned after tax between eight and ten per cent profit on sales. Today it is nothing like that. According to Kurt Hackel, the chairman of Grundig, Germany's market leader, the industry's problems are because it has had to restructure, adapt its production capacities to the market, streamline its technical side and produce a new generation of models. One of the success stories is that of SEL, in Pforzheim, a subsidiary of the American ITT.



SEL's Horst Rosenbaum ... does he have the magic formula? (Photo: Bohner-Neusch)

In the mid 1970s, SEL had annual sales of DM616m and had 7.7 per cent of the TV market. But it was in the red.

By 1978 its losses had mounted to DM200m. It faced heavy competition from the Japanese and was faring worse than its German competitors.

SEL's chief, Horst Rosenbaum, 48, presents what his firm did as a textbook case for rejuvenation:

- The company's entire entertainment electronics operation was pulled in from its various bases and put under the Pforzheim management. This meant shutting down production plant in other centres.
- Research and development departments of ITT everywhere were studied for electronic innovations.
- Markets were opened up in new countries such as Indonesia and Argentina.

As a result SEL began to come out of its depressed cycle ahead of its competitors.

Last year its sales were DM1bn and yielded a profit of several million marks.

At the other end of the scale are the firms that went to the wall last year.

One was Dual, one of the few medium-sized companies in the field.

The other was Videocolor, manufacturers of colour TV tubes.

Says Rosenbaum of SEL's comeback: "We made sure not to try to beat the Japanese on products in which they're particularly strong but to come up with innovations they did not yet have."

For example: the ITT subsidiary Intermetal in Freiburg developed a TV chassis that has reduced the per unit production time from 150 to 100 minutes.

Unlike in previous years, it is now not the Germans who want to produce a Japanese product under licence. Japan's Sony has applied to SEL for a licence to produce the new chassis.

Rosenbaum concedes that he would not have succeeded in putting SEL into the black again had he not had the backing of the American parent company.

That is why he sees the future of smaller manufacturers in a bleak light.

"I don't believe in a policy aimed at finding a niche in the market."

Another company in which AEG Telefunken has a stake has been founded.

AEG has joined forces with the Japanese entertainment electronics specialists JVC and the British Thorn EMI, of London, in establishing a Berlin-based plant which is to produce 300,000 video sets a year.

Grundig and Philips are now for the first time in years at the spearhead of the video business, together with the Japanese.

Their jointly developed Video System 2000 has wrested five per cent of the market from the competing Japanese systems Betamax and VHS.

According to a Grundig spokesman, 30 per cent of all video sets sold in Germany in 1981 were made by Grundig or Philips.

The system is also sold by Siemens, ITT, Loewe Opta, Körting and Metz.

The owner of the company, Max Grundig, has forecast that his company will sell one million video recorders in 1983.

For the moment, however, the Japanese are far ahead. They produce about eight million video sets a year, 6.5 million of which are exported.

Though America provides the Japanese with their most important market, they are bound to start an onslaught on Europe due to the expansion of their production capacities.

One uncertain element with such forecasts is that nobody can tell where the saturation point for video sets lies.

In Japan, 9.6 per cent of all households have video recorders, compared with three to four per cent in Germany at the end of 1981.

Yukio Kosuda, general manager of JVC in Eschborn, near Frankfurt, estimates market saturation at 56 per cent. But such figures will not be achieved until the end of the 1980s — if at all.

While today's demand is such as to absorb the entire production of video sets, expansion plans of the makers seem to indicate that the supply could outstrip demand after 1985.

One thing is certain: because of the great output of video recorders prices are bound to tumble.

Grundig spokesman Karl-Heinz Schmidt: "If you take the trouble to read your newspaper carefully these days you're bound to notice that many deallers are advertising video sets at discount rates."

Heido Neukirchen

(Welt am Sonntag, 10 January 1982)

Continued from page 6

on 10 August, tumbling to DM2.2470 towards the end of the year.

The dollar decline was due to a certain disenchantment with Reaganomics and to diminishing American interest rates. This was further boosted by the Bundesbank's high interest policy and improvements in Germany's current account position.

There has been a shift in the economic and political factors that determine the dollar-deutschemark exchange rate.

US interest rates are continuing to slide and the Bundesbank could well think about uncoupling itself from American interest rates because of Germany's better inflation rate. Japan has already done this.

All these basic factors put together favour the deutschemark.

But its appreciation was halted several times last year due to world politics.

The situation in Poland made foreign exchange traders handle the deutschemark as a "front-line currency."

This became less distinct once the United States and the Soviet Union began their Geneva arms limitation talks.

The confrontation between the USA and the USSR after the imposition of martial law in Poland has made the deutschemark vulnerable again, though the foreign exchange markets reacted with astonishing equanimity.

Hans Hutter

(Nordwest Zeitung, 9 January 1982)

■ THE PRESS

Chicago Abendpost, a German-language daily link with Germany

At 12 o'clock on 2 October the Alpiners will play at the Oktoberfest in the Daley Center at the invitation of the Chicago Council on the Fine Arts.

This item originally appeared, in German, in the *Abendpost*, which proudly claims to be the only German-language daily newspaper outside the German-speaking countries.

The man who typed it and marked it up for the printers is Ludwig Gehrken, editor of the *Abendpost*, which has helped immigrants to keep in touch with the old country since 1899.

Gehrken, 40, is not just the editor. He is the only full-time paid staff writer for the paper, which has a print run of 10,000.

He is proud of its unique position. As he pointed out in a recent editorial.

"Now the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* in Buenos Aires has switched from daily to weekly, the Chicago *Abendpost-Sonntagspost and Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung* is the only daily newspaper still in existence outside the German-speaking world."

After this build-up the newspaper's office at 223, West Washington Street is distinctly nondescript.

Unless you use the fire escape you will have to take a run-down and claustrophobic elevator up to an office that looks as though it must have seen better days.

It has a slightly faded look and an antique smell that for German journalists old enough to remember will bring to mind the makeshift accomodation of the early post-war years.

But the ageing yet comfortable atmosphere of wood rather than concrete and plate glass is a pleasant change from modern architecture. It conveys an atmosphere of heartiness and an arguably German impression.

Gehrken has been the paper's *Chefredakteur* for 16 years. The rest of his staff are unpaid volunteers. The paper published by The Abendpost Co., costs 30 cents.

American journalists seldom hit on the idea of writing a story about Germany. The Bonn Chancellor has to be seriously ill before an item about Germany is printed.

This persistent non-coverage of Germany by US newspapers goes a long way towards justifying the existence of the *Abendpost*.

It is read by immigrants from Germany, Austria and Switzerland who are still keen to know what is going on in the old country and would not like to lose touch.

The readership are on the conservative side, which is why the *Abendpost* has an editorial policy midway between, say, Bismarck and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Yet Gehrken sets great store by the tags independent and impartial. His paper has an offbeat layout and may look as though it consists of bits and pieces, but it is a one-man show and quality is bound to suffer.

Gehrken surely deserves a pat on the back. Singlehandedly he puts together over 20 pages of newspaper a day.

The front page deals mainly with world affairs from a US viewpoint. The others are almost exclusively filled with stories with a German angle.



Editorially somewhere between Bismarck and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung ... Ludwig Gehrken at the helm of the Abendpost. (Photo: N. Fienhold)

Gehrken has always ploughed a strictly conservative furrow. Yet he is extremely critical of the Reagan administration and usually opposed to its policies.

He edits from Chicago but the paper is printed in Omaha, 600 miles away. He puts in so much desk work that he spends most of his time in the office.

That means he has little or no time to cover the assignments that make journalism such fun. No on-the-spot interviews for him.

He does not see the paper to the press either. That is done by print workers in Omaha.

At his desk from nine till five, Gehrken checks agency reports, pores over most major German newspapers and sees what stories they run that he can use.

A typewriter and a telephone are his stock in trade. Both have a slightly antiquated look.

His local reporters are Joe Pasternack and Erika and Peter Schneider. Dr. Hansjürgen Kienast writes for the arts pages. Anton Geigenbauer supplies copy from Austria.

They are paid nothing. "They work for us because they enjoy writing," Gehrken says. His job calls for idealism too.

German-American friendship is obviously editorial policy, so extensive coverage is given to events that testify to links between the two countries.

The annual Steuben parade is an example. A mixture of good humour and a military air, it is invariably dealt with at length.

In a four-page spread words and pictures leave nothing to the imagination. Every little detail of the parade is lovingly described.

The *Abendpost* is as anti-Soviet as it is both German and American in character. Moscow is always good for a dig, and not necessarily the sledge-hammer treatment; it can be subtler and more ironic.

A full-page article is headlined: Doctor Gives Lie To What Goes On Under The Covers In Bedrooms On The Volga And The Don.

What goes on, we are given to understand; is: lights out, eyes closed and in two minutes it is all over.

The page consists of extracts from Mikhail and August Stern's *Der verklemmte Genosse* (The Inhibited Comrade), published by Ullstein in Berlin and dealing with sex life in the Soviet Union.

In private conversation Gehrken, a German, sounds a much more liberal and enlightened note than most Americans.

To this day he fails to understand their puritanism and prudery, characteristics he feels are exemplified by women invariably wearing nylon stockings.

He is full of admiration, coupled with a slight shake of the head, for the freedom of the press in America, a freedom that makes it possible to publish such extremely satirical and pornographic magazines as the *Hustler*.

"Everything is a little more extreme in the States," he says. That is certainly true of his mailbag, especially the output of a pensioner from Bayreuth who now lives in Chicago.

He seems to spend most of his time penning letters to Gehrken, but he has no time for such niceties as *Sehr geehrter Herr Gehrken* (Dear Mr Gehrken). His letters are headed *Gehrken!*

Or almost. His letterhead includes a note explaining that letters franked with stamps bearing the effigy of Ulbricht, Heinemann, Scheel, Frahm-Brandt, Genscher or Schmidt will not be accepted.

Letters to the editor from right wingers are not unusual, but at one stage people like this pensioner joined forces to launch an anti-Gehrken campaign.

In the final analysis Gehrken is on his own. He certainly does not have a press empire behind him. And he is criticised not only as an editor but also more often than he feels is warranted, as a German.

He is annoyed mainly by the output of cheapskate Nazi films that make Germans out to be stupid, half-anim... This celluloid counterpart of pulp sen... only to foster enmity.

"Far too many films of this kind are still screened on TV here," he says. He claims, with his paper, to have prevented *Holocaust*, the four-part TV serial about Jews in Nazi Germany, from being introduced as a set subject at Chicago schools.

He did so partly for personal reasons when he noticed that his two children were being jibed at school as Nazis when the hue and cry about the serial were at their height.

The *Abendpost*, read by teenagers and pensioners alike and covering both current affairs and events of the what's-on-in-town? kind, cannot be measured by German yardsticks.

This goes for both its size and contents, and even though it is edited by a German who mans his desk daily to provide other Germans with a *link* with the old country.

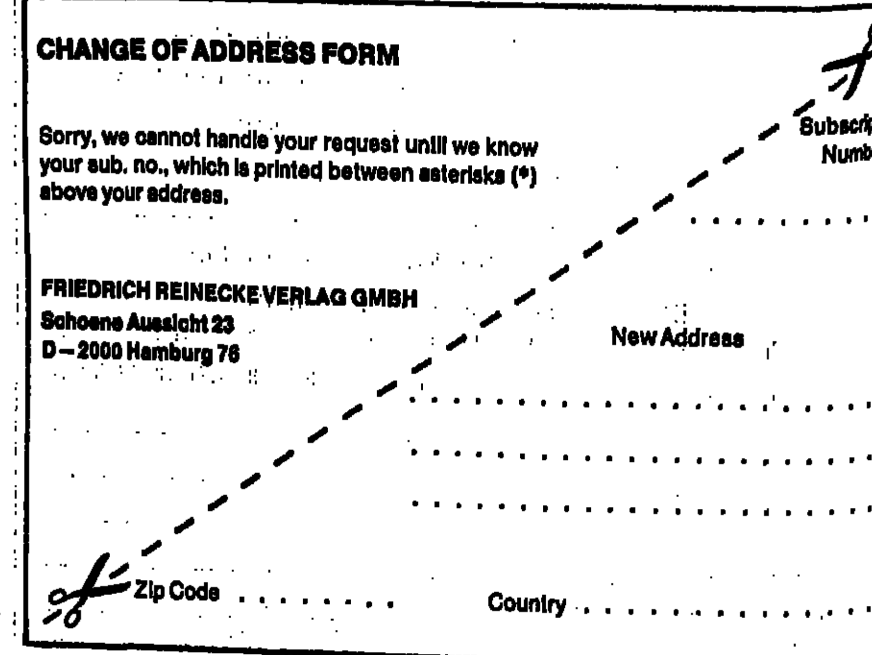
Chicago, population three million, has more than half a million German and German-speaking immigrants. Many also live in Milwaukee, traditionally German.

Others hold the fort in Lincoln Avenue, although that area is mostly populated by Greeks and Jews nowadays. But it used lovingly to be called *Obere Friedrichstrasse*, or Upper Frederick Strett, by German-Americans.

But wherever they have made their home, they try not to break all their bridges with the old country, and seek to keep up with events in Germany by reading the local German paper.

Ludwig Fienhold

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 January 1982)



■ SHIPPING

Pint-sized heirs to the queens of the oceans

Two German cruise ships have this year been introduced into service. They are the *Europa*, owed by Hapag-Lloyd of Hamburg and Bremen, and the *Astor*, owned by Hadag, of Hamburg. It so happened that they were berthed alongside each other in Genoa after the *Astor* had returned from her first outing in the Atlantic and the *Europa* had made a test run from Bremerhaven. Bruno Bock, of the *Kieler Nachrichten* reports from on board the *Europa* how the passenger ship business has changed.

The new ships are built to cruise. Because their engines are not designed for speed, they will never compete for the Blue Riband of the Atlantic.

The Blue Riband is awarded to prize bulls in Britain. A journalist one day awarded one to the fastest liner on the New York to Southampton run.

The *Mauretania* won it in 1906 with an average of 26 knots for the trip.

In 1929 an earlier *Europa* took the Blue Riband with an average of 29 knots. In the 1950 *United States*, which was constructed with possible military use in mind, averaged 36 knots.

These new ships are smaller and slower. They make about 20 knots overnight, from one port to the next, but cruising speeds are even slower.

In the 1920s, ocean liners tended to be 50,000 tonners. By the Second World War, British and French liners reached 85,000 tons.

The *Europa* of today is 36,000 tons and the *Astor* 18,000. The *Europa* takes 600 passengers in 316 cabins; the *Astor* 638 in 304 cabins.

They rival their bigger and faster predecessors for elegance, but not in the ornamental, art nouveau style, nor in the modern velvet and tassels variety.

"The problem is," says Hapag-Lloyd director Willner on board the *Europa*, "how to design a ship today that will still earn its keep in 20 years."

In the *Europa* the designers seem to have hit on the solution. She is timeless in her elegance and fitted out to run on a much smaller crew than her 20-year-old predecessor.

As for comfort, including the size of cabins, she should be in keeping even with the ideas of the next generation of passengers.

The *Astor*, is a little different. She is smaller and so are her cabins. She has a fairly large restaurant yet meals have to be taken in two servings.

She has brighter colours and, some would say, a more striking use is made of plastic (which need not be a point to hold against her).

Fares are lower too, about four fifths of what passengers on board larger luxury liners have to pay. The Russians are even cheaper, a steward says, which is why they have the youngest passengers.

This brings us to the all-important question. Who these days can afford to spend between DM250 and DM850 a day, not including arrival and departure, outings and bar bills on board?

Cabins on board the *Europa* range from DM250 to DM850 a day for a Mediterranean cruise. A fortnight in the Med on the *Astor* ranges from DM144 to DM675 per day.

The answer is that 75 cruisers are kept busy around the world and that the cruise business has been a growth sector of the tourist trade for the past 15 years.

With growing affluence, more and more young people can afford to swell the ranks. The new *Europa* is expected to handle 11,000 passengers this year; 9,800 have already made firm bookings.

To run at a profit the ship must sail at 70 per cent of capacity. Her annual capacity is a maximum, when fully booked, of 13,600.

So, to attract the passengers, operators and travel agents have to work out interesting routes and destinations.

Cruises are run from Spitzbergen to Tierra del Fuego. There are tours of the mediaeval Hanseatic cities. There are Amazon adventures and cruises to Japan for the cherry blossom festival.

Japan and the cherry blossom festival is one of the destinations this year for the *Europa*.

The aim is always the same, to arrive in port first thing in the morning and sail out again at night.

On board there are lectures, painting courses and bridge tournaments. There is a ship's library and a masseur. All cruise ships have a swimming pool and sauna bath.

It's all fun in the Lido Bar

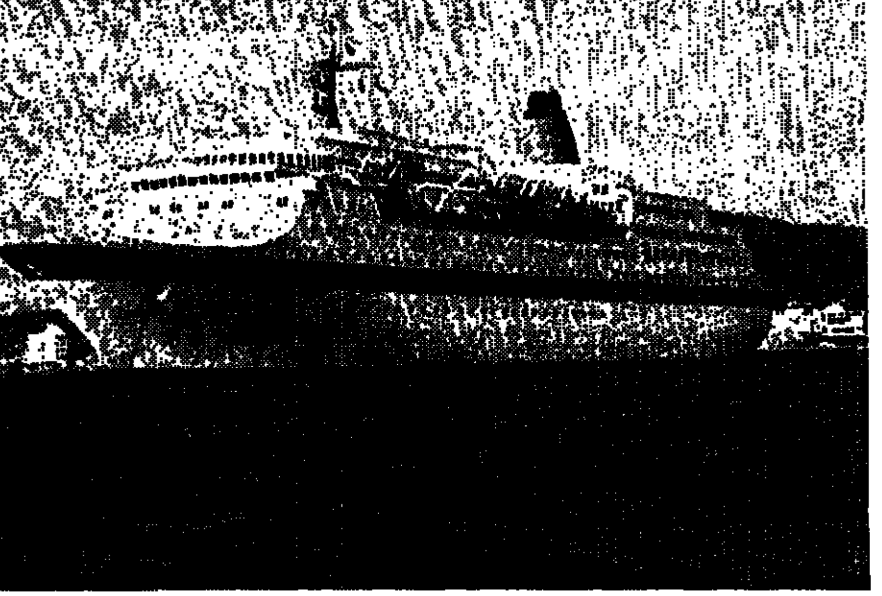
The latest idea on board the *Europa* is a sunbathing deck for nudists.

Passengers wear leisure wear at breakfast, sportswear at lunch and full dress at dinner. Evenings are for social events with music, dancing and well-known variety artists.

In the Lido Bar it's fun. In the *Grosser Saal* the atmosphere is a little more refined, whereas in the Pirate's Bar and the like on the lower decks the kids gc to town.

The fare has a bearing on the entertainers hired. Roberto Blanco was on board the *Europa* from Bremerhaven to Genoa. Entertainers in his category are the exception, not the rule.

Outings cost extra, and they can be extremely expensive. But, accompanied by experienced guides, they are invariably in demand. Most passengers probably decide to join in because they might as well do so while they're there.



Hapag-Lloyd's 'Europa' (Photo: HAPAG–Lloyd)

Apart from that the time-honoured customs are observed. The cabin steward introduces himself, dropping his card on the writing table and assuring the passenger that "Hans will do."

From then on he is an ever-present guide to ensure everything goes right. He makes sure the laundry is laundered. He helps you to find missing buttons. He arranges costumes for the fancy dress ball.

It's all no problem, yet somehow or other he never actually seems to be around. I for one have never understood how the steward manages to make the beds and tidy the cabin without ever being seen.

With the steward in the restaurant it's the other way round. He introduces himself, with a slight bow, as Herbert. He has eagle eyes.

You need only to glance around the table in search of something or other and he will be at your side to ask if he can be of any assistance.

Stewards never seem to be under stress. They rush past with a smile, always ready to share a joke, and their advice is invariably sound.

Once a week it is not called for, when the menu says "from the galley." Then most of the male passengers at least are not interested in the finer details of the chef's art.

The chef certainly does a good job. So do the wine stewards. Often they are perhaps a little on the young side to know too much about their wines but they could hardly be friendlier.

The captain's table is less important than it used to be. There are said to be ships where an officer never graces the table at dinner at all.

In days gone by that would have been unthinkable. The ladies' hearts beat faster whenever the ship's officers in gala uniform made their appearance.

These days ship's doctors are always at the ready, and there is no shortage of applicants for the post. Who would not like to cut the cost of a cruise in this way? Shipping companies can take their pick.

Then there are the chaplains. They are not only on board for divine service on Sundays. "The dearer the ship, the older the passengers," someone says, "and the more coffins need to be taken along."

Most of the crew keep out of the way

The remainder of the crew are virtually unseen, apart from the pursers, male and female.

Captain Boels of the *Europa* does not like to see his ship referred to as a floating hotel, yet the erstwhile chief purser is now knowas *Hoteldirektor*.

The *Europa* is 200 metres long and 28.5 metres across, the *Astor* 164 metres by and 22.6 metres.

The engines are soundproofed and well away from the passengers' quarters.

Bilge is no longer just pumped into the ocean. Safety precautions are taken seriously. A new rudder design makes the ships extremely manoeuvrable. You can make telephone calls to anywhere in the world.

All rooms are air-conditioned. Cabins are fitted with colour TV sets. And when the storm tosses, the stabilisers are used to keep the ship on an even keel.

In the Bay of Biscay, says Herbert, not a single item fell from the tables. But not everyone appeared for meals. The captain is proud of how his ship shapes in heavy seas.

"Some say," he says with a smile, "I said we had up to Force 11 gales."

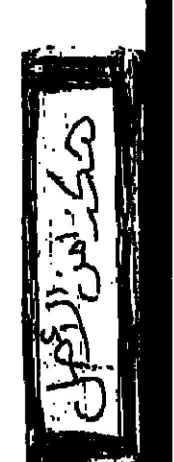
Hans, the cabin steward, agrees. "A cruise today is altogether different from how it used to be," he says as he hangs the white bathrobe sporting the Hapag-Lloyd emblem in the cupboard.

He should know. He has been a steward for 15 years.

Bruno Bock

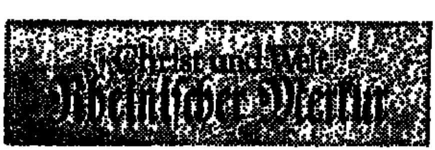
(Kieler Nachrichten, 9 January 1982)

Hadag's 'Astor' (Photo: HADAG)



THE ENVIRONMENT

Wanted: a balance between protection measures and industrial efficiency



German industry is worried by the mounting cost of mandatory investment in measures to prevent environmental pollution.

Matthias Seefelder, managing director of BASF, one of the Big Three chemicals companies, says the environmentalists have the country in a stranglehold.

Despite this dramatic appeal he is well aware that in formal terms the environmentalist party, known as the Greens, has yet to tread the corridors of power.

They have merely established political bridgeheads in a number of local authority areas, including, one is bound to add, Frankfurt and West Berlin.

Yet the Bundestag, state assemblies, local government and the courts are already behaving as though the environmentalists commanded a safe majority at the polls.

From Herr Seefelder's viewpoint the result is that nowhere in Germany can he find land where he is likely to get planning permission to build a chemical factory.

Red tape is increasingly stifling even extensions to existing capacity.

The Chemicals Act that came into force in the New Year has made life even harder for the chemical industry in the Federal Republic of Germany. A spokesman for the Chemical Industry Association says the Act is the toughest of its kind in the world, although Herr Seefelder adds: "Despite many misgivings on individual issues the chemical industry is prepared in principle to abide by the Act with all the extra burdens it imposes and even though it has yet to prove effective."

How much of this can the environment stand? (Photo: Sven Simon)

The industry feels it is also responsible to society for ensuring that chemicals remains an efficient industry and continues to play its part in maintaining the Country's standard of living.

For Herr Seefelder, who in Ludwigshafen presides over the largest chemicals complex in Europe, the Chemicals Act includes fundamentally new features.

The entire industry is required to register all new products, and the existing 50,000 chemicals used could also be put through their paces if felt to be dangerous.

In the wake of chemicals scandals there is clearly a need to provide better protection for both people and the environment from the harmful effects of dangerous substances.

But is this the right time to go in for legal provisions aimed at perfection?

The Bundestag finance committee has approved an extra 70 staff at the Dortmund Federal Labour Protection and Accident Research Office to handle registrations.

An extra 500 men were initially applied for, and the 70 will not be anywhere near enough to offset the job shortfall in the chemical industry caused by the additional burdens arising from the provisions of the Act.

With unemployment inexorably nearing two million the industry is careful not to state its case in terms of a specific number of jobs that could be lost.

Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum, a Free Democrat, seems keen to appear greener than the most committed environmentalists and is turning a deaf ear to arguments that jobs may be in jeopardy.

This has been shown by his insistence on new atmospheric pollution regulations. Even though marginal in effect, he is going ahead with dust limits for lead and cadmium.

Cadmium is undeniably a creeping and dangerous toxin. A by-product of zinc manufacture, it is an acute danger to the kidneys and bones.

But Herr Baum insists on extremely low mandatory levels even though there are as yet no technically reliable means of monitoring them.

Industry says the new regulations are likely to cause 16,000 redundancies in metalworking industries. Yet they will do nothing about what is arguably a much more serious risk than that of inhaling lead or cadmium.

It is the risk of eating lead and cadmium in fruit and vegetables.

The lead limits Herr Baum envisages are as follows. The running engine of a motor-car must not cover an area of 50,000 square metres (the average house and garden account for say 500 square metres) with more than one 500-millionth of a gram of lead dust per square metre per day.

His corresponding limit for cadmium is a 40-billionth of a gram.

The government would do well to rely on the advice given by scientists a few years ago who suggested using biological limits as a guide to heavy metal pollution and measures to keep it in check.

Industry would have no objection to specific local counter-measures of a kind likely to protect the public effectively from heavy metal intake.

But is is allergic to blanket regulations after environmental protection in the 70s imposed a financial burden amounting to over DM100bn.

Over the past decade the non-ferrous metal industry made up to 40 per cent of its capital investment in environmental protection installations.

It is said to have invested DM32bn in environmental protection between 19.. and 1970, plus annual running costs (for wages, raw materials and energy) of DM5bn.

In a survey commissioned by the Environmental Protection Agency in West Berlin Liselotte Lichtwer of the Battelle Institute, Frankfurt, has reached conclusions no less impressive.

By the end of 1974, she says, private industrial and public-sector investment in environmental protection had totalled DM74.9bn, including running costs and interest payments.

Industrial investment totalled DM32.7bn, including DM12.6bn between 1970 and 1974.

Between 1977 and 1981 the cost was even higher: DM66bn in industry and DM58.5bn in the public sector, including DM52.7bn and DM36.7bn respectively in running costs).

So over the last five years the total investment in environmental protection has amounted to DM124.5bn, according to the Battelle Institute.

The cost just keeps getting higher

During this period environmental protection accounted for 4.4 per cent of gross industrial investment, and most of the money was invested by a handful of leading companies.

There are over 50,000 industrial enterprises in the country but only 26 per cent of them, or 17.9 per cent of those who invest in environmental protection at all, account for 57.6 per cent of investment.

Small companies often leave it to the local authorities. Since 1977 they have paid DM2bn for waste and effluent disposal.

The chemical industry alone last year spent more than DM500m again on environmental protection. More than half went towards effluent purification plant.

Over the last five years its direct environmental investments totalled DM3.53bn led the field, being followed by the iron and steel industry at DM1.9bn.

Electricity, gas and water came a third with investments totalling DM1.83bn.

Politicians and administrators who are responsible for environmental protection

Continued on page 12

PEOPLE

The environmentalist behind the foundation behind the prizes

Hamburg millionaire Alfred Toepfer can at times be seen out walking on the Lüneburg Heath with a plastic bag. Whenever he sees a scrap of paper or an old tin can he impales it on his walking-stick and into the bag it goes.

He was a keen campaigner against environmental pollution before most of us had even heard of the term.

A sprightly 87-year-old, he still works in his sparsely decorated office overlooking the Alster, Hamburg's city-centre lake.

No-one who didn't know would suspect that he is the boss of Europe's largest grain dealers, the head of Germany's largest private shipping company and a man whose millions are invested in fodder works and bank holdings.

But Toepfer, who grew up in a staunchly Protestant home and was deeply influenced by the idealistic and socially critical youth movement of the early years of this century, has made over most of his money to the F.V.S. Foundation.

He set it up 50 years ago and has lately made over his private fortune to it, disinheriting his five children who, he says, were only mildly upset.

What do the initials stand for and what does the foundation do? The initials can be taken to stand either Freiherr vom Stein, the Prussian statesman of the Napoleonic period, or Friedrich von Schiller, the German classical dramatist and contemporary of Goethe.

Allgemeine Zeitung

Toepfer feels beholden to both, the "Prussian social reformer and virtual revolutionary" and the "writer of outstanding European plays."

The foundation awards 20 prizes and eight medals; 676 individuals and groups have been honoured over the past half-century.

Its premier award is the European statesmanship prize, currently worth DM380,000. It first went to Britain's Edward Heath for taking his country into the Common Market. In 1979 it was shared by the German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, and the French Premier, Raymond Barre.

The foundation honours cultural achievements, makes awards to scientists and includes among its prize-winners artists, conservationists and others.

Cash awards range between DM5,000 and DM25,000. Prize-winners have included Bonn President Theodor Heuss, writers Graham Greene, Harold Pinter and T. S. Eliot, composer Benjamin Britten, architect Walther Gropius, Social Democrat Carlo Schmid, opera impresario Rolf Liebermann and journalist Horst Stern, an animal conservationist.

Awards to younger prize-winners include scholarships, but the awards as a whole account for a mere fifth of the foundation's revenue, most of which goes towards nature conservation and the preservation of historic monuments.

The foundation spends nearly DM2m a year on the Lüneburg Heath nature reserve. It is used to lay and mark out paths, to repair and insure buildings and to pay foresters and other staff.

Foundation funds have been used to rebuild old houses in Peterstrasse, Hamburg, dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries. They would otherwise have been demolished, cash not being available for their repair and maintenance.

This one project cost nearly DM7m. In No. 39, Peterstrasse, a Brahms museum was set up and opened to the public. In other houses museums are to be set up for composers Telemann and Mendelssohn.

The foundation awards a prize for Low German dialect literature which is, of necessity, limited in scope to North Germany.

But it also has a wide range of European awards, such as the Ossian Prize and the Europa Prize for folk art.

The Ossian Prize is given for cultural achievements on behalf of European minority communities, such as by the Rhaeto-Romance Association in Grisons, Switzerland or by Scottish Gaelic writers.

The Europa Prize has been awarded to Rumanian folk drama companies, to Hungarian folk dance groups, to a collector of fairy tales from Bremen and to a Finnish choir.

So it is shared at least equally by prize-winners in East and West. In recent years Eastern Europe has probably been honoured more.

Seven Johann Gottfried von Herder prizes are awarded to public figures in Poland and south-eastern Europe who have made major contributions to writing, music, painting, architecture, ethnology or conservation of their countries' architectural heritage.

Award-winners are said in their citations to have made exemplary contributions towards the maintenance and expansion of Europe's cultural heritage.

To list all the awards and prize-winners would go well beyond the scope of this article, but a number of men after whom awards have been named speak for themselves.

They include Alexander von Humboldt, Shakespeare, Fritz Reuter, Robert Schumann, Montaigne, Goethe and Rembrandt.

Last not least there is the Strasbourg Prize, endowed to foster understanding and friendship between young people in France and Germany.

As part of this award scheme a large number of scholarships have been awarded to French and German schoolchildren, students and research scholars.

The Montaigne Prize is awarded for special contributions towards cultural collaboration in the Latin countries.

Time and again reference is made to the European idea of establishing, in a humanitarian spirit, a model of popular awareness of tradition appropriate to political conditions in present-day Europe.

Klaus Granzow/KK

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 7 January 1982)

The man who popularised contemporary philosophy

Philosophising is a public activity. The state of views and reflections on the world is something that affects us all.

Yet in a perplexed present, when we are all at a loss what to hope of the future, philosophers seem only to talk shop, leaving the general public in the dark.

The life's work of Frankfurt philosopher Arthur Hübscher, 85, has clearly broken with this tradition.

He is the most important living specialist on Schopenhauer and has been president of the International Schopenhauer Society for over 45 years.

Membership is open to all with an intellectual interest in the subject, and the Schopenhauer Society has the largest membership of any association of its kind in Germany.

Professor Hübscher edited the philosopher's collected works, the handwritten notes he left behind, his letters and recorded conversations.

He fittingly entitled his own 1966 autobiography *Living With Schopenhauer*, and at 85 on 3 January he is still very much doing so.

His incomparable accomplishments in editing and interpreting Schopenhauer are eminently philosophical. As Schopenhauer's heir he has focussed attention back on a philosopher whom conventional current philosophy has tended to dismiss as a fad, to quote Klaus Oehler. Perhaps Schopenhauer's uncompromising diagnosis of the world as a hell was too hard to handle, but he was not an emotional pessimist.

Schopenhauer was a realist who was unerred by the pathos of the Enlightenment and refused to be misled by the general ideology of progress.

Humanity, says Hübscher, is a tough task in a life of which the hallmarks are hatred, war and mutual destruction.

They can only successfully be resisted once one has soberly and honestly acknowledged the inevitability of suffering and the inalienability of hardship that are part of existence.

Philosophising without illusions in Schopenhauer's wake then becomes an act of self-liberation from illusion and narrow-mindedness.

Hübscher was born in Cologne. His father was a bookseller and publisher. He grew up in Munich, where he studied Germanic and Romance language, history and philosophy.

He submitted in 1921 a PhD thesis on The Poets of the Neukirch Collection, a major source of late Baroque poetry. He saa the Baroque as an expression of the antithetic feeling of life based on lavish sensual pleasure and realisation of the transitory nature of life.

As a young man Hübscher was on good terms with Hugo von Hofmannsthal, the Austrian playwright. He worked as a literary and theatre critic for the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, editing the paper's arts section from 1928.

From 1924 he also edited a monthly, the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, which was banned by the Nazis in 1936.

He was famous for his 1928 open letter to Thomas Mann in which he objected to the tacit metatmophosis he had undergone in his 1918 *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Observations of An Unpolitical Man).



Arthur Hübscher ... break with tradition. (Photo: Seitz-Gray)

Hübscher certainly had no lack of civic courage. He took over the running of the Schopenhauer Society in 1936, aged 39, and piloted it successfully through the Third Reich.

He edited Schopenhauer's conversations in 1933 and published two biographies, *Ein Lebensbild*, 1936, and *Der junge Schopenhauer*, 1938.

After the war he was appointed, in 1950, head of the arts section of the *Bayerischer Staatsanzeiger*.

In his post-war books, *Philosophen der Gegenwart* (Philosophers of the Present), 1949, *Denker unserer Zeit* (Thinkers of Our Time), 1957, and *Von Hegel zu Heidegger* (From Hegel to Heidegger), 1961, he brought the figures and problems of contemporary philosophy to the notice of a wider public.

It was clear that this century had witnessed a struggle between the heirs of Schopenhauer and those of Hegel. Whereas Hegel embodied the attempt to establish order in a chaotic world, Schopenhauer's teachings of the will power was a powerful stimulus to efforts to arrive at a new *Weltbild* and a new teaching on man.

Freud's teachings on the libido, Uexküll's on the environment, the *Ganzheit* theory and what Nietzsche called the reason of the body showed Schopenhauer to be an educator against the times.

Under Hübscher's custodianship the Schopenhauer Society has emerged as a key transmitter of philosophical thought.

Its members have included sociologist Max Horkheimer and politician Carlo Schmid. Current members include writers Rolf Hochhuth and Christa Reinig as well as a number of professional philosophers.

It has set standards of open philosophy with its widely-regarded conferences and series of lectures.

In 1962 Frankfurt appointed Professor Hübscher as head of the Schopenhauer Archives. Helped by his wife Angelika he still does a full day's work.

In his main work *Denker gegen den Strom* (Thinkers Against the Current), 1973, he as a thinker of reality teaches us how to set out in new directions with Schopenhauer as our guide.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Kieler Nachrichten, 6 January 1982)

■ THE ARTS

Painters paint, buyers buy, and critics tell both that they shouldn't

Avant garde movements in the world of art don't always find immediate public acceptance.

Back in 1909, artists in Munich formed their *Neue Künstler-Vereinigung* and for the first time showed their works in the Thannhauser Gallery.

The public was appalled at the style of painting. The artists who formed the hard core of the 1909 avant garde movement, Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Werefkin, Erbslöh, Kanoldt, Kubin, Hofer and Le Fauconnier, were abused and threatened.

The critics were hostile and fuelled these emotions. Some of the artists were even spat on.

Now, 70 years later, there is something of a repeat performance, albeit without the same public anger.

The public in fact, remains indifferent while the critics run amok.

And the object of the fury is not violations of rules and standards, but something that should be taken for granted: the art of painting itself.

It all began when a group of German artists set out on a journey of discovery armed with brush and palette. Georg Baselitz, Anselm Kiefer, A.R. Penck and Markus Lüpertz came forward with conceptual art, *arte povera*, land art, video and performance.

They were undaunted by criticism and did what they wanted.

It was a perfectly legitimate undertaking; yet most German critics disapproved. This disapproval reached a climax at the Venice Biennale of 1980 when the German commissioner Klaus Gallwitz exhibited works by Kiefer and Baselitz in the German pavilion. Gallwitz came under severe fire.

Ideologues smelled a rat. Thus, for instance, Kiefer exhibited two large canvases entitled "Germany's Intellectual Heroes" and "Parsifal".

Kiefer accused of having 'Teutonic attitude'

The themes aroused unpleasant memories and Kiefer was accused of a Teutonic attitude.

Instead of looking at the pictures and realising that the artists deliberately wanted to provoke and to expose mythology with the instruments of the painter, the critics preferred to harken to their own bad conscience in a know-it-all attitude.

Unlike their German counterparts, foreign critics showed more expertise. They paid tribute to the German contribution to the Biennale and most of their critiques were positive. They clearly appreciated the uniqueness of this new approach to art.

The director of the Eindhoven Stedelijk Museum, Rudi Fuchs, who has been promoting Baselitz, Kiefer and Penck for years, has supported the artists by showing and buying their works.

The fact is that foreigners regard the works of contemporary German artists as an inside tip for the early 1980s.

New York gallery owner Ileana Sonnaband, for instance, buys everything by Anselm Kiefer. Another New York owner, Xavier Foucarde, has taken the works of Georg Baselitz.

Sailing in the wake of this generation



of artists who were born in the 1930s there is a group of artists who are greatly profiting from the reputation of their "spiritual fathers" although they are autonomous in their approach.

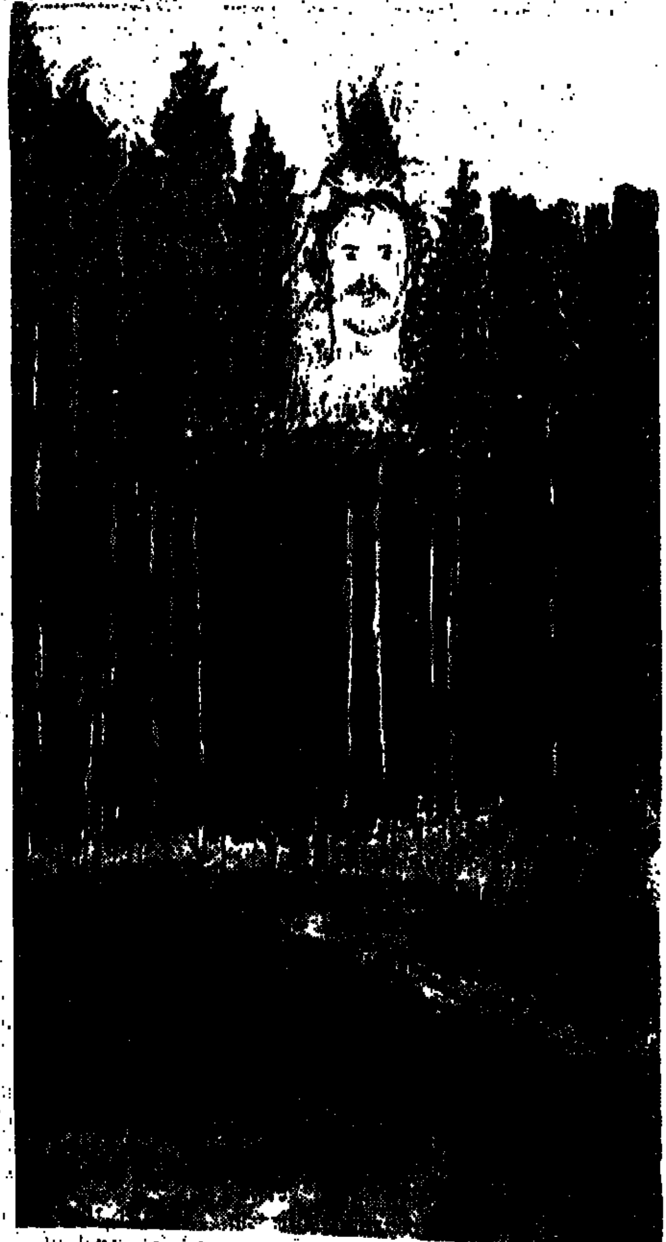
Unlike Baselitz, Kiefer and Penck, who are rooted in the traditions of German Expressionism, the young group of artists operate in a geographic vacuum.

They live and work in New York, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Bologna, Paris and Antwerp. They are courted and well paid and they had an easy take-off on the international art scene.

Most aggressive of the young artists are those who have devoted themselves to painting as "non painting". The majority live somewhere between Cologne and Düsseldorf.

The programmatic titles of their shows (*Mülheimer Freiheit, Deutsche Rundschau, Bildwechsel, Gegen-Bilder, Gruppe No-mal, Front, Treibhaus, Zeitpunkt*) have made the experts prick up their ears. They simply needed a new heading for the novel trend which can be summed up as back to a no-style, unbridled, dilettante-like, fresh and subjective painting.

Heavily influenced by the French *Fauves* (savages), they have been dubbed the "new savages". But their savagery is only skin-deep. Behind it lies the protest against the establishment. This is a generation of artists with an anti-authoritarian imagination. They have no respect for tradition, for their forebears or, indeed, for quality criteria. They paint spontaneously, inconsiderately, without a programme, playfully, wittily, naively and clumsily — mostly for the purpose of self-release. Yet they are conspicuously eloquent, never at a loss for an answer, likeable, direct in their approach and enchanted by comic strip speech balloons. All in all, they are as fresh and as lovable as Mickey Mouse. Being anti-authoritarian, they do not want to know about any group spirit even though they prefer to show their works collectively and make collective careers. In this respect they are similar to Italy's Cipher artists who invaded Europe's museums and galleries in the late 1970s and whose artistic naiveté stunned the world of art.



'Untitled' (1971) an Anselm Kiefer oil painting. (Photo: Catalogue)

Their market successes are beginning to show. Italian Cipher artists already command prices of between DM10,000 and DM60,000, while the German anti-authoritarian group (none of them is older than 30) fetch between DM1,500 and DM18,000.

German museum directors usually operate on the assumption: If it's expensive it's worth showing. Yet they are rather hesitant in their approach towards this "art without mercy" and few offers are forthcoming.

There are, however, exceptions: the director of the Basel Kunsthalle, Jean-Christophe Amman, showed Italian Cipher painters in 1980 and then passed them on to the Essen Folkwang Museum and the Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum.

Buyers starting to take an interest

Ex-*documenta* Secretary Harald Szeemann arranged for them to be shown at the Venice Biennale.

Now that they have been shown by small and medium sized galleries, Amman wants to present the anti-authoritarians in Basel this year.

Naturally, they will also be represented at the *documenta 7*, the largest and most important assembly of art.

Says Rudi Fuchs, secretary of this year's super show: "I don't particularly like thes pictures, but they will be represented in Kassel. However, we will be showing individual artists rather than the group. None of them have been invited as yet. There's still time for that. And they are productive enough to give us quite a selection."

This means further consolidation for these young artists.

In addition, the *documenta* will place them in a context which their works reject but which will ensure them of an international reputation. Fuchs' intention is to present a bridge for the first time at this year's *documenta* between the present and the past.

But this means that Fuchs attributes a high degree of quality to our very young artists. Otherwise he would not even consider showing their works.

In any event, these young painters substantiate Fuchs' view: "Our exhibition must plausibly show that the constant search for something new is absurd. It is this that made the entire art scene so jittery.

"The art market and our entire exhibition set-up have hampered development and pressured the artists into producing something new and unexpected."

The only thing that is unexpected with the anti-authoritarian is that the artists depict themselves and that after a long phase of an esoteric, purist and intellectual art they are subjective and egocentric and the imagination that they convert into pictures is unplanned: The artist has come to himself.

This has been achieved thanks to the young painters — without risks and acting purely on the verve of youth.

Rudi Fuchs gives them his backing. In an open letter sent to 125 European and overseas artists, he wrote: "Artists have seen many exhibitions: good ones and boring ones; political ones, exciting ones and mysterious ones. There have been times when we (the artists) were very dissatisfied. We had a feeling that our works were being manipulated. We all have used this term frequently to substantiate some sort of cultural or philosophical thesis. What's the point?"

In his letter, Fuchs promises: "I see this exhibition as a story and I have even pondered whether I should use this word as its title: *documenta 7* — a Story. But perhaps we need no title at all."

This tone between exhibition organisers and artists is new. The self-image of art in the early 1980s could mean that artist and organiser will engage in a dialogue as equal partners. The way it looks, a beginning will be made at the *documenta*.

Werner Krüger

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 January 1982)

Continued from page 10

would do well to remember the words of Eugen Loderer, general secretary of IG Metall, the metalworkers' union.

Environmental protection and nature conservation are desirable, he says, especially near the cities. But the interests of an industrialised country that relies on exports for a living must also be borne in mind.

Germany, as Herr Loderer sees it, is not an El Dorado for civil engineers and concrete wastelands; but is not a South Sea atoll or one of the Lofoten islands either.

Burkhart Salchow

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 8 January 1982)

■ MEDICINE

As the unsuspecting victim sleeps, the deadly duo strikes...

Influenza viruses now rank among the best researched germs. They are tiny, prickly creatures measuring barely 1/10,000th of a millimetre.

The membrane that covers the genetic substance of these viruses has two appendages clearly visible under an electron microscope. These appendages, which are essentially enzymes, are responsible for the dissemination of the virus in man's body.

Aided by hemagglutins, the virus adheres to the cell surface, ultimately causing the illness.

It is ths hemagglutin which the body's own defensive mechanism combats, according to Professor H. D. Klenk, Giessen.

The influenza viruses need a living host cell in which to multiply. Once a virus has invaded the body, it must therefore find a suitable environment in which it can continue living as soon as possible.

But since not every cell offers equally favourable conditions, it is largely left to chance whether a virus will find a host cell in good time.

The biochemical components of the surface of the cell and the virus must be compatible — much like key and lock.

Little is known about the complicated chemical substances that make up these surfaces.

But the compatibility of the surfaces *is only one* prerequisite of an infection.

The next step so far as the virus is concerned is to penetrate the cell.

There is much to indicate that the surface of the influenza virus merges with the cell membrane; this is a process in which a fusion glycoprotein appears to play a major role.

Once in the cell, the virus transforms the genetic substance of the host in such a manner as to henceforth make it produce only viruses.

As a rule, the newly produced young viruses are filtered out of the cell and flood the entire body. If the body's own defence system can no longer repel the massive attack, acute influenza ensues.

Professor Klenk's research work seems to indicate that only certain cells of the human body are capable of producing infectious viruses.

Though the surface components are always synthdsised, they do not always become active. In this form they are precursors of infectious viruses which must be activated by proteolytic splitting of the hemagglutins before causing infection.

But there are evidently also cells which lack the enzyme that makes such splitting possible. Moreover, the hemagglutin molecule is not always split in the same place, although the splitting region is restricting to a very small but important area of the molecule.

Professor Klenk's research work has led him to conclude that even very minor mutations at the place where the split has occurred decide the virulence of the disease.

He as observed that influenza viruses undergo regular changes, thus undermining the body's immunological processes.

These mutations caused by changes in the hemagglution are a unique process.

While most people have such virus infections as German measles, measles and mumps only once in a lifetime, influenza can recur any number of times.

Most virus infections lead to lifelong immunity. Only influenza viruses seem to be able to break down this immunity barrier time and again.

This is due to the fact that influenza viruses have a structural peculiarity. Their gentic substance consists of eight loosely connected segments similar to chromosomes. Each of the segments has a specific function. One of them codes the hemagglution which is instrumental in causing infection.

Professor Ch. Scholtissek of the virology department of Giessen University has delved into the different chemical structures of hemagglutin.

Mutations appear to play a certain role in the annual changes of influenza viruses; but entirely new viruses can occur as a result of the special structure of the genetic substance of the influenza virus.

This invariably happens when two different strains accidentally come upon each other in a single cell.

When this happens, the segment that is in the process of coding the hemagglutin can be exchanged, resulting in a fertile virus particle which the body's defence mechanism cannot immediately identify because no antigens have yet been formed for it.

It is this process which is responsible for the sudden occurrence of new strains of influenza viruses and, ultimately, for ever new world-wide flu epidemics.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 January 1982)

Father at fault for toothache (right-sided)

A Düsseldorf doctor is in the final stages of research into a theory about the origins of nervous complaints and other complaints such as toothache, sciatica and appendicitis.

Dr Volker Remmers has found, in examining more than 2,000 people over seven years, subconscious influences involving relationships with either males or females in the patient's immediate environment.

He has linked complaints on the right hand side of the body with a subconscious disturbed relationship with a male such as father or employer.

On the left side, the connection is between the patient and a female.

This has greatly facilitated his establishing the cause of psycho-physical disorders after no more than a brief chat with the patient.

Dr Remmers' information stems from his work at the Düsseldorf University Hospital, the State Hospital in Viersen and a private institute for social and forensic medicine in Düsseldorf.

He has dealt with a wide variety of people, including criminals, psychopaths, neurotics who came to him with a wide range of disorders ranging from multiple sclerosis to vasomotoric malfunctioning. Many of the patients were mentally normal.

In many instances the complaints disappeared the moment the patient became conscious of his emotional position.

dpa

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 6 January 1982)

New treatment for users of artificial kidney

The 120,000 people all over the world who depend on an artifical kidney can look forward to a new era of mobility.

The two life saving methods for people suffering from kidney malfunctions now are dialysis and transplants.

Although transplants are a permanent solution, only a few sufferers can hope to have a new kidney implanted. There are too few suitable donors. To make matters worse, about half the patients are physically not fit enough for a transplant.

In most cases, the toxic substances and the excess water which are normally removed by the kidney are now filtered by dialysis.

But this is a time-consuming process that requires the patient to either visit a dialysis centre several times a week or to use a home dialysis machine.

A new process known as Continuous Ambulatory Peritoneal Dialysis (APD) makes the sufferer independent of such machinery.

While normal dialysis takes place outside the patient's body, CAPD does its filtering continuously in the abdominal cavity.

The patient is surgically fitted with a tube that is inserted into his abdominal cavity which in turn is surrounded by the peritoneum. The tube serves to convey some two litres of a sterile dialysis liquid into the abdominal cavity.

The liquid is carried in a plastic container at about shoulder height and is fed to the abdomen by gravity.

The empty container can be rolled up and hidden under the patient's clothing.

While the patient goes about his normal business, excess water and toxic materials enter the dialysis solution through the peritoneal membrane — a chemical process that takes about six hours.

Once the process has been completed, the patient unrolls the container and holds it below the level of his abdominal cavity. Once more, it is gravity that feeds the used up dialysis solution and bodily waste into the container.

The container is then removed and replaced by a new one containing clean dialysis solution. The process has to be repeated four times a day.

The simplicity of the CAPD method enables the patient (or a relative) to do what is necessary without outside help, though naturally only after thorough training.

The plastic container and the removal of waste within the body itself provide the sufferer with an entirely new dimension of mobility. Even extended trips abroad are no problem. Moreover, no medication or outside help is needed.

Since there are no major changes in the liquid level (unlike with conventional dialysis) the burdens imposed on the cardiovascular system are lessened. And, as an added bonus, the patient does not have to observe any particular diet.

Even so, says Professor Bernd Grabensee of the Düsseldorf University Hospital, most patients still opt for conventional dialysis.

"But we are at the point now where a number of dialysis centres are contemplating switching to CAPD in suitable cases," says Professor Grabensee.

CAPD is particularly suitable for patients who also suffer from diabetes or chronic heart trouble. This naturally also applies to those who, for one reason or another, cannot use conventional dialysis methods.

CAPD should not be used with patients whose abdominal cavity is too small or who are likely to suffer from post-surgical complications.

Since the use of CAPD requires no medical help, only those patients should be fitted with it who are certain that they can cope with the system after training.

Improper handling could lead to peritonitis. An early indication of impending peritonitis is clouding of the dialysis solution.

Heribert Weihönig

(Die Welt, 2 January 1982)

Clinical tests for plastic pellet cancer surgery

Mannheimer MORGEN

Spinal cancer can be treated surgically by destroying the tumour's blood vessels through plastic pellets or by laser beam treatment, a conference of the Society for Spinal Research, Tübingen, has been told,

Both methods are already undergoing clinical tests, Professor Hans Mau of the Tübingen Orthopaedic Hospital told the conference.

Using a vein catheder, plastic pellets are inserted into the tumour's blood vessels in order to reduce the blood content as far as possible and so facilitate surgery.

Most pellets are removed after surgery, though some are absorbed by the organism.

With laser treatment, the peripheral tissues of the tumour are made to form a scab. The tumour is thus sealed off.

This sealing off enables the surgeon to delineate the tumour. This, in turn, makes it easier to remove it.

Laser treatment also prevents diseased cells from affecting healthy ones.

It will take about five years of practical experience with these methods before they can be put to general use with this rare form of cancer.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 5 January 1982)

■ MIGRANTS

Enriching officialese and providing a cultural fulfilment

German officialese has been enriched by yet another term: *Ausländerkultur* (or aliens culture).

But what is this *Ausländerkultur* that has invaded the filing cabinets of German municipalities and government authorities? It can only have been bureaucratic mindlessness that confused culinary matters with culture and that declared *ouzo* and *cevapcici* along with the folk dancing of Turkish children as "aliens culture".

"Cultural" events of this nature are usually staged in the form of "aliens festivals" where the one side is gazed at like monkeys in a zoo while the other smugly contends that it is now better able to understand the "dear foreign fellow citizens."

I do not deny that such events help different peoples to understand each other. But I have never seen Germans attending such festivities dance or sing along with the others; and the only culinary delicacy they are interested in is bockwurst. The dancers and cooks at such affairs are always the outlandish others.

The foreigners have meanwhile started organising their own festivities without being prompted to do so by various municipal and other government authorities.

Cultural enterprise after the initial shock

After years of trying to overcome their "speechlessness" and the cultural shock that goes with it they began to develop their own cultural life – at first timidly and later with increasing self-confidence. They organised events that were not ordered from above but were simply the expression of creativity – something to which the host country cannot claim a monopoly.

By blending the traditional values of the home country and the new rites of a highly industrialised society, the aliens in Germany evolved a specific "guest worker" culture that spans the emotional territory from the Atlantic coast to the Eastern Mediterranean. Woven into this panorama are the emotional experiences gathered between the Baltic and the Alps: What emerged was a very particular and unsubsidised blended culture which can otherwise only be found among the adherents of alternative lifestyles.

Foreign workers have formed theatrical groups. Meeting in private homes after work, they write plays – frequently with political dynamite – set in both the old country and the new.

Many of these groups, like the Spanish *Teatro popular* in Hanover, have opted for pantomime in order to overcome the language barrier.

Foreigners have established their own publishing houses that publish books reflecting the lives of those who live in slummy tenements and suffer from lack of person-to-person contact and a consumerism with which they cannot keep pace.

These books, short stories, novels and poetry are now increasingly written in German rather than the home language – a German with a somewhat peculiar grammar.



The music groups that have emerged preserve the genuine sounds of the old country, spurning the financially rewarding pseudo *bouzouki* and Spanish *olés*.

Undaunted by mockery and derision from the Germans, they go on playing the ancient tunes they remember from the villages back home.

There is a complete cultural scene with poets, novelists, artists, film makers and musicians for whom nobody cares and nobody wants.

Despite an occasional review in a major magazine and despite some TV time, the *Gastarbeiter* culture is known to insiders only – people who are intimately involved with it, be it as non-Germans or as Germans whose job it it to deal with aliens affairs.

Even though there are a couple of well known works by or about the aliens among us, most of these works remain unknown to the German public.

Official recognition comes their way once in a while in the form of subsidies from various government authorities.

But there are very few municipalities or *Länder* that see their way to providing a bit of money for the "preservation of cultural identity."

And if such money is available at all it is usually no more than a pittance. Hamburg, which houses more than 100,000 foreign taxpayers, last year for the first time provided DM150,000 which it swiftly cut back to DM75,000.

Aliens clubs and centres are usually the only organisations that provide a bridge to the old country. Though the authorities support them, very few government culture departments are prepared to contribute money.

In Frankfurt, it took hundreds of letters and petitions before a meeting could be arranged between representatives of foreigners' centres and the cultural authorities.

Writes George Dejesus, chairman of the Portuguese Cultural Centre in *Frankfurter Zeitung von Ausländern für Deutsche – WIR*(Frankfurt paper by foreigners for Germans – WE): "Our Centre now has theatre, song and folklore groups. We also have a youth group which recently made a film in Portugal. For all these activities we don't get a penny from the German authorities. The German Alsatian Club, on the other hand, recently received a DM50,000 subsidy..."

Even worse than the lack of understanding among government authorities for the "guest workers" (not to mention their culture) is the total disinterest and indifference shown by their neighbours.

This is not only due to cultural differences but to the big non-communicativeness of an industrial society in which person-to-person relations and communication range at the bottom of the list of values.

It is therefore easy to understand why the vaunted integration fails to materialise even though most foreign workers have a smattering of German and even though foreign spices have invaded German kitchens.

There is a palpable discomfiture on both sides. At last October's Loccum Congress on *Gastarbeiter* Culture, Christel Hartmann, theatre expert from Berlin, summed it up as follows: "As long as we Germans regard ourselves as people who hand out alms and despair at the fact that the 'heathens don't think in Christian terms' – in other words, Turks don't want to think, speak and feel German – and as long as we persist in seeing culture as an intellectual structure, there will be no communication even among those of goodwill.

"We, both Germans and foreigners, who are earnestly trying to live together know this. The question that arises: Why are we so helpless? We are helpless because no suggestions on how to overcome the problems are being put forward."

This helplessness obviously applies to the governments in Bonn and the *Länder* which are trying to solve the problems with a mountain of bills that have been pending for the past 20 years.

It is hard to write about *Gastarbeiter* culture, to promote understanding and to attempt to explain that this culture could emerge only in this country where foreigners and Germans live next to but not with each other – at the very moment when the lives of the foreigners among us are once more to be regulated by legislation.

This legislation is such as to impose further restrictions and curtail basic rights.

This lends even more weight to the words of Hakki Keskin, a Turk who teaches political science at Berlin University: "Our requests and our begging are ignored. How are we to promote our culture and make it understood without the necessary financial means, without personnel and without influence?

"How are we to discuss our culture and an earnest integration policy when we lack legal, political and social equality? We must insist on this equality."

But even should this equality be established (which is unlikely at the moment), it would take a long time before even the terminogy difference between the "Japanese colony" and the "Turkish ghetto" was eliminated.

Danja Antonović

(Die Zeit, 8 January 1982)

A solution in celluloid

Foreign children need more films in their mother tongue, agreed delegates at a five-day seminar at the Children's and Youth Film Centre in Remscheid.

Children must be made aware of their own traditions and values if they are not to be overwhelmed by German culture. The Film Centre has evolved a project dubbed "Film for Foreign Children in their Mother Tongue". *dpa*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 January 1982)

Town faces criticism over integration efforts

Dear Turkish fellow citizen, since Germany is an industrial country and everybody has to work, we make sure that there is no noise at night. Laundry is never hung out to dry on Sundays."

This is the type of advice and information with which the Town Council of Stadtallendorf in Hesse is trying to make life easier for the 3,000 Turks who live in the town.

The 1979 circular is full of information, admonishment and well meant advice and ends with the wish for a "pleasant stay."

But it remains doubtful whether this is enough to ensure a sensible co-existence between Turks and Germans. A Marburg University team of experts says that it is not.

In a study on "Aliens Policy in a Rural Centre" (relating to Stadtallendorf) the team criticises the lack of any attempts at integration in municipal policy. As a result, the position of the 4,000 foreigners living in Stadtallendorf is worse than the national average and worse even than in metropolitan Frankfurt.

With a total population of 20,000, Stadtallendorf had an aliens quota of 20.3 per cent at the end of 1980 – the third highest in Hesse after Frankfurt and Kelsterbach/Main.

Due to its geographical position far away from conurbations and its unbalanced social and economic structure, Stadtallendorf is at a disadvantage when it comes to integration policy – especially for the Turks, who account for 70 per cent of the foreign population there.

Moreover, the study says, the town administration is overtaxed both in terms of personnel and expertise.

The attitude of municipal politicians adds to the difficulties.

Dr Siegfried Sorge, district commissioner until last year publicly decided that the Turks want to integrate. In a 1980 newspaper article he wrote that the West was in jeopardy because "Islam has re-awakened and now sees a chance of making good the ground it has lost in Europe during the past 13 years."

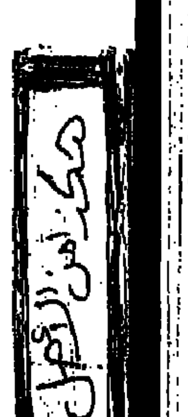
This kind of statement can only kindle xenophobia, says the study – especially when it leaves unmentioned that it was German industry that recruited the Turks to do the work no German was prepared to do.

Thus, for instance, it is owing to the foreigners that the metal industry in Stadtallendorf has not only managed to preserve jobs but has also created new ones for Germans.

In a place like Stadtallendorf, where one in five is a foreigner, an improvement of the social and political climate is essential.

Given more tolerance by the local population it should be possible to integrate the foreigners. And only once this tolerance is forthcoming can the costly and necessary appointment of social workers be successful. *dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 6 January 1982)



■ MODERN LIVING

Villages change character as the townies head for the wide open spaces

Since the mid-60s more and more West Germans have voted with their feet and responded to deteriorating urban living conditions by moving into the countryside.

There may have been slight eddies of backlash here and there, but by and large the trend continues.

But urbanites have not become villagers; instead they have tended to suburbanise villages. More often than not they transform them into dormitory suburbs.

The villages have forfeited their cultural independence to the newcomers, says a survey by Frankfurt University's department of cultural anthropology and European ethnology.

It is said to be the first systematic study of cultural requirements and satisfaction in a village of this kind that been suburbanised over the past 20 years.

Büdesheim, a village 20km (12 miles) from Frankfurt, is cited as a typical example of structural change in this category of village community within a conurbation.

Fifty years ago it was entirely rural; now only six full-time farmers are left. Half the village's 3,242 people have moved in since 1963.

Now, says the survey's Brigitte Rambalski, writing for Frankfurt's *Uni-Report*, the village consists of two groups of equal size, and no-one is sure who ought to be integrating with whom.

The population is divided, newcomers do not mix with longstanding residents; they even keep to their own separate housing estates.

The newcomers' homes, new housing developments, form pear-shaped extensions to the nucleus of the village.

As part of the project about 200 villagers old and new were interviewed by a team led by Dr Heinz Schilling, formerly with *Saarländischer Rundfunk*, the Saar broadcasting authority.

The geographical distinction was

Saarbrücker Zeitung

found to correspond to a social one. The two groups live separate lives in the village and have very little contact with each other.

The newcomers have much in common socially. In educational and career qualifications, in earnings after tax and accumulated wealth they are clearly ahead of old-established residents.

Yet oddly enough they have difficulty in forging contacts even among themselves. This was not the case with the first wave of post-war newcomers.

The post-war influx were mostly refugees and keen to become part of the established village community.

As refugees they had come down in the world and felt the need to re-establish social and economic foundations as compensation for status and security forfeited.

This earlier generation of newcomers set out to make the village a new home (and succeeded). Newcomers over the past two decades have not made their homes in Büdingen; they merely live there.

This is not to say that they have no intention of taking on social commitments. They are often keen to engage in local politics, feeling village politics are closer to the people than in the city.

They feel they can get things done in the village that are impossible in a larger community, but the reality is somewhat different.

The integration mechanism that used to work no longer functions. Established residents look on newcomers with suspicion and fear a take-over by the townspeople.

Both groups of villagers seem without exception to be very, or fairly, satisfied with the quality of life in Büdingen as far as their homes are concerned.

But when it comes to what goes on on the other side of the garden wall, the quality of village life, as it were, they are perceptibly less satisfied.

What they value about living there is living in comfort, with enough room to move about in, the privacy and freedom to run and decorate the home in one's own way, being undisturbed by the neighbours, peace and quiet.

Other factors that fit in this category included being able to keep domestic animals, having good plumbing, paying reasonable rent or mortgage repayments, getting on well with the immediate neighbours and enjoying the prestige of house-ownership.

These, then, were the yardsticks of satisfaction with the closer environment, and Büdesheimers of all categories felt they were most important.

This was more than could be said for the rating they gave the village itself, as seen in terms of restfulness, available services, the housing situation in general, outdoor recreation facilities and the overall appearance of the village.

Then came opportunities of making contact with other people in the village, the special character of villages as such, the importance of tradition and history.

They were followed by more prosaic considerations such as shopping facilities, traffic infra-structure, leisure activities, civic participation, earning potential and further education opportunities.

Cultural requirements, expectations, desires and behaviour and, as a result, leisure activities were found to be far from uniform.

Some residents were culturally satisfied, others were dissatisfied. Old-established residents were the most satisfied, newcomers the least satisfied.

The most complaints were made by newcomers who moved to the village in the 70s, and by women in particular.

Satisfaction was expressed mainly in respect of traditional village activities, such as sports and social clubs, the village fair and provisions made for old people.

The dissatisfied, who accounted for about 40 per cent of people questioned, were unhappy because cultural facilities available did not meet their cultural needs.

They listed a catalogue of leisure activities that were not to be had in Büdingen. These were compared with what people actually claimed to do.

They were then compared with a fictitious listing of events, a montly summary consisting half of actual events and half of facilities that had been felt to be needed.

The results tallied. People who wanted there to be a cinema in Büdingen would not only like to go to the cinema regularly; they already did so.

Young people tended more to opt for what might be termed time-wasting leisure pursuits, whereas older people went in for activities that were more artistic or cultural in scope, or simply achieved something of lasting value as a result.

The latter category included house repairs and maintenance, gardening and so on, and was preferred on the lower rungs of the social ladder by people whose range of leisure activities is limited in any case.

Facilities missed are missed mainly by the middle classes, who go in for a more varied range of pursuits. Which is why they tend to prefer a less strenuous kind of activity.

Büdesheimers born and bred tend in their spare time toward the staider, more materially rewarding activities such as home repairs and tending the vegetable garden. *Renate I. Mreschar/df*

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 2 January 1982)

Big revival of interest in farming

Youngsters are showing an increasing interest in learning agricultural trades. A few years ago farmers were not even able to keep their own children down on the farm. Now city kids are keen to learn from the sons of the soil.

Last summer 2,061 school-leavers in Lower Saxony took up an apprenticeship in an agricultural trade. About 15 per cent came from other than farmers' families.

Prospects of finding a job in farming when they qualify are bleak when they lack a family farm to work on, so most plan to study agriculture at university.

There is, incidentally, no truth in the belief that farmers work endless hours and never have time to spare. An EEC survey says the average hours worked on German farms are 42.6, as against an average for the European Community as a whole of 49.7 hours.

Farmers in the Common Market work longest hours by far in Ireland, where the average is 62.7 hours.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 2 January 1982)

Graduates give thumbs down to career opportunities

Graduates are becoming less interested in careers, says Munich psychologist Lutz von Rosenstiel.

He found after polling students that many take a dim view of what they associate with the idea of a career.

Graduates with above-average qualifications are not keen on well-paid industrial jobs because they no longer relish the prospect of a career.

This, says Professor von Rosenstiel, is a far cry from 10 years ago.

One of his best students had rejected a job offer from a leading company, saying he was not in such a hurry to trade in his freedom.

Another case he cites is that of a young man who opted for a civil service job that was well below and in no way appropriate to his academic qualifications.

Five rejections before someone accepts

He had said he felt it was more important to be able to clock off at 4.30 p.m. After all, you only lived once.

When a step further up the career ladder involves moving elsewhere in Germany or, worse still, abroad, Professor von Rosenstiel said five or six candidates with suitable qualifications needed to be interviewed these days before one took up the offer.

This was the case even when promotion prospects were bright or the location was (or used to be) attractive, such as a job in New York or Rio de Janeiro.

In the past, he said, companies had seldom found applicants turned down such an offer. Professor von Rosenstiel holds a chair in organisational and industrial psychology.

Empirical studies might have shown clearly that as a rule job satisfaction in-

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creased with seniority, but climbing the career ladder frequently entailed parting company with accustomed surroundings and faces, not to mention more work.

"You are deprived of the protection and warmth of the group. Many an evening and weekend are spent working. Family and leisure commitments have to take a back-seat role."

He says there can be no doubt that more and more young people today are no longer prepared to make this kind of sacrifice.

He checked how his students felt about a career by asking them what qualities they attributed to a successful executive. Most were negative: unpleasant, egoistic, technocratic, cold and hard-nosed.

A few years ago it had been a different tale. Students were less critical. The principle of getting somewhere in one's career was clearly increasingly being called into question.

So many young people were distinctly sceptical about getting on in a career, and not just because they shunned responsibility, he said.

Seven out of 10 said they felt economic growth was no longer essential; it made people increasingly materialistic. There was, the professor said, a saturation of basic requirements observable in German society.

Material values were given less importance, whereas post-material values such as environmental conservation and shop-floor democracy were gaining in popularity. *Cornelius Hanemann*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 January 1982)